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SIGNING OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE
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Ancient and Modern

with CRITICAL STUDIES *of the* WORLD'S GREAT ORATORS *by* EMINENT ESSAYISTS

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IN FIFTEEN VOLUMES

VOLUME XI.

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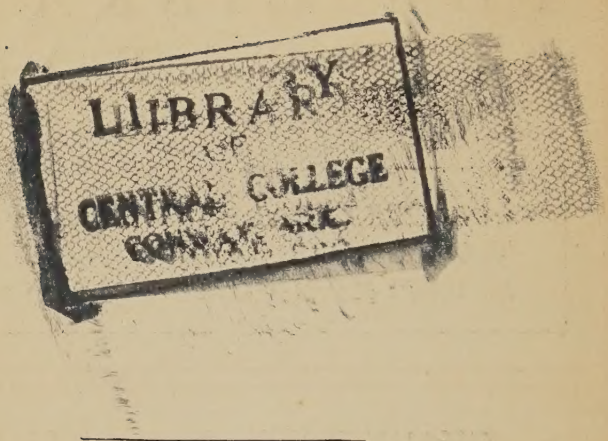

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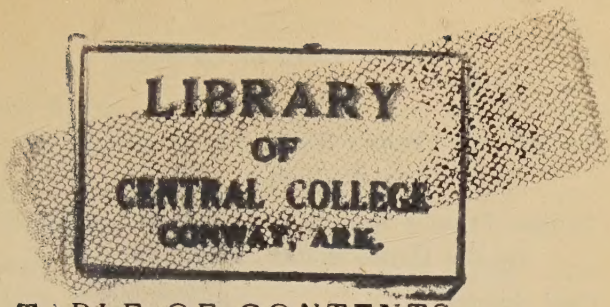

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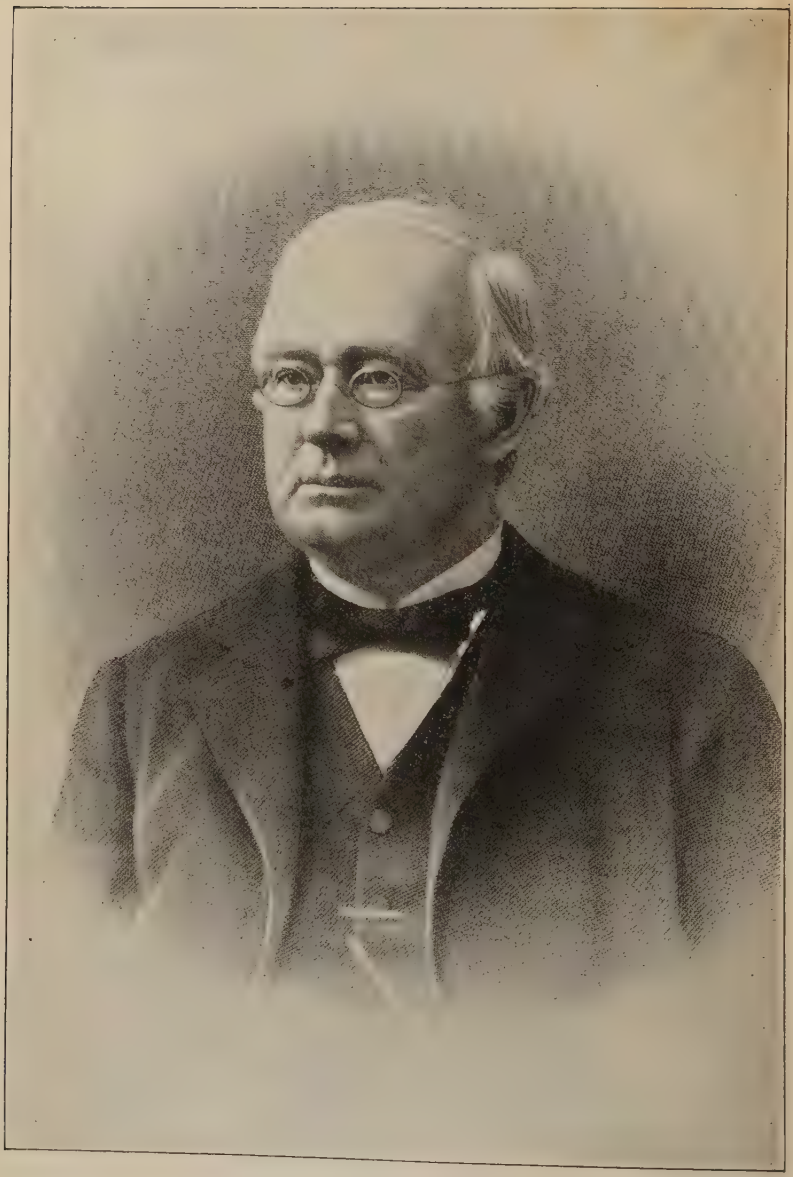

GEORGE F. HOAR

SENATOR HOAR

GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR, LL. D., American statesman and jurist, was born at Concord, Mass., Aug. 29, 1826. He was educated at Concord Academy and at Harvard University, where he graduated in 1846. He studied law, and on graduating from the Harvard Law School began to practice in Worcester, Mass. During twenty years at the Bar he won high position in the legal profession. Senator Hoar's first appearance in the political field was as chairman, in 1849, of the committee of the Free-Soil party. In 1852, he became a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, and in 1857 of the State Senate. Early in his career he was an advocate of woman suffrage, making his first address on that subject in 1868. His service in the legislature of his native State was followed by his election, as a Republican, to four successive Congresses, serving from March, 1869, to March, 1877. In 1877 he became a United States Senator. He is still (1902) a member of that body, being the senior member from Massachusetts. Senator Hoar was a delegate to the Republican National Conventions of 1876, 1880, and 1884, and was chairman of the convention which nominated James A. Garfield for the Presidency. He was one of the managers, on the part of the House of Representatives, of the Belknap impeachment trial in 1876, and in the same year was a member of the Electoral Commission. In the administration of President Hayes he was offered the post of Ambassador to Great Britain, but declined it. From 1874 to 1880, Senator Hoar was an overseer of Harvard University, and in 1880 he became a regent of the Smithsonian Institution. In 1887, he was elected president of the American Antiquarian Society. He was one of the corporation of Clark University, is a trustee of the Peabody Museum of Archæology, and a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society. He has received the degree of LL. D. from William and Mary, Harvard, Yale, and Amherst. Senator Hoar is a humanitarian, as well as a statesman and a scholar. In 1897, he wrote and placed on file at the Massachusetts State House a petition against the use of birds and feathers as ornaments for hats, which purported to be signed by "thirty-five undomesticated song birds." The Senator is an advocate of bimetallism and an anti-expansionist. In his long career he has frequently been in opposition to public sentiment, and the South was particularly indignant at his action in the matter of the Force Bill. While Senator Hoar is independent in thought and act, the honesty of his motives has never been doubted. He is an extremely ready speaker, and in the Senate is always listened to with attention. His long and conspicuous career has been marked by patriotism as well as by high principle and great ability.

ADDRESS AT THE BANQUET OF THE NEW ENGLAND SOCIETY

DELIVERED DECEMBER 22, 1898, AT CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA

I NEED not assure this brilliant company how deeply I am impressed by the significance of this occasion. I am not vain enough to find in it anything of personal compliment. I like better to believe that the ties of common history, of common faith, of common citizenship, and inseparable destiny, are drawing our two sister States together again. If cordial friendship, if warm affection (to use no stronger term), can ever exist between two communities they should exist between Massachusetts and South Carolina. They were both of the "Old Thirteen." They were alike in the circumstances of their origin. Both were settled by those noble fugitives who brought the torch of liberty across the sea, when liberty was without other refuge on the face of the earth. The English Pilgrims and Puritans founded Massachusetts, to be followed soon after by the Huguenot exiles who fled from the tyranny of King Louis XIV, after the revocation of the edict of Nantes. Scotch Presbyterianism founded Carolina, to be followed soon after by the French exiles fleeing from the same oppression. Everywhere in New England are traces of the footsteps of this gentle, delightful, and chivalrous race. All over our six States to-day many an honored grave, many a stirring tradition bear witness to the kinship between our early settlers and the settlers of South Carolina. Faneuil Hall, in Boston, which we love to call the "Cradle of Liberty," attests the munificence and bears the name of an illustrious Huguenot.

These French exiles lent their grace and romance to our history also. Their settlements were like clusters of magnolias in some warm valley in our bleak New England.

We are, all of us, in Massachusetts, reading again the story of the voyage of the "Mayflower," written by William Bradford. As you have heard, that precious manuscript has lately been restored to us by the kindness of His Grace the Lord Bishop of London. It is in the eyes of the children of the Pilgrims the most precious manuscript on earth. If there be anything to match the pathos of that terrible voyage it is found in the story of Judith Manigault, the French Huguenot exile, of her nine months' voyage from England to South Carolina. Her name, I am told, has been honored here in every generation since.

If there be a single lesson which the people of this country have learned from their wonderful and crowded history it is that the North and South are indispensable to each other. They are the blades of mighty shears, worthless apart, but when bound by an indissoluble union, powerful, irresistible, and terrible as the shears of fate; like the shears of Atropos, severing every thread and tangled web of evil, cutting out for humanity its beautiful garments of liberty and light from the cloth her dread sisters spin and weave.

I always delight to think, as I know the people of South Carolina delight to think, of these States of ours, not as mere aggregations of individuals, but as beautiful personalities, moral beings, endowed with moral characters, capable of faith, of hope, of memory, of pride, of sorrow, and of joy, of courage, of heroism, of honor, and of shame. Certainly this is true of them. Their power and glory, their rightful place in history, depended on these things, and not on numbers or extent of territory.

It is this that justifies the arrangement of the constitution of the United States for equal representation of States in the upper legislative chamber and explains its admirable success.

The separate entity and the absolute freedom, except for the necessary restraints of the constitution of our different States, is the cause alike of the greatness and the security of the country.

The words Switzerland, France, England, Rome, Athens, Massachusetts, South Carolina, Virginia, America, convey to your mind a distinct and individual meaning and suggest an image of distinct moral quality and moral being as clearly as do the words Washington, Wellington, or Napoleon. I believe it is, and I thank God that I believe it is, something much higher than the average of the qualities of the men who make it up. We think of Switzerland as something better than the individual Swiss, and of France as something better than the individual Frenchman, and of America as something better than the individual American. In great and heroic individual actions we often seem to feel that it is the country, of which the man is but the instrument that gives expression to its quality in doing the deed.

It was Switzerland who gathered into her breast at Sempach the sheaf of fatal Austrian spears. It was the hereditary spirit of New England that gave the word of command by the voice of Buttrick, at Concord, and was in the bosom of Parker at Lexington. It was South Carolina whose lightning stroke smote the invader by the arm of Marion and whose wisdom guided the framers of the constitution through the lips of Rutledge and Gadsden and Pinckney.

The citizen on great occasions knows and obeys the voice of his country as he knows and obeys an individual voice, whether it appeal to a base or ignoble or to a generous or noble

passion. "Sons of France, awake to glory," told the French youth what was the dominant passion in the bosom of France and it awoke a corresponding sentiment in his own. Under its spell he marched through Europe and overthrew her kingdoms and empires and felt in Egypt that forty centuries were looking down on him from the Pyramids. But at last, one June morning in Trafalgar Bay, there was another utterance, more quiet in its tone, but speaking also with a personal and individual voice, "England expects every man to do his duty."

At the sight of Nelson's immortal signal duty-loving England and glory-loving France met as they have met on many an historic battle-field before and since, and the lover of duty proved the stronger. The England that expected every man to do his duty was as real a being to the humblest sailor in Nelson's fleet as the mother that bore him.

The title of our American States to their equality under this admirable arrangement depends not on area or upon numbers but upon character and upon personality. Fancy a league or a confederacy in which Athens or Sparta were united with Persia or Babylon or Nineveh and their political power were to be reckoned in proportion to their numbers or their size.

I have sometimes fancied South Carolina and Massachusetts, those two illustrious and heroic sisters, instead of sitting apart, one under her palm trees and the other under her pines, one with the hot gales from the tropics fanning her brow and the other on the granite rocks by her ice-bound shores, meeting together and comparing notes and stories as sisters born of the same mother compare notes and stories after a long separation. How the old estrangements, born of ignorance of each other, would have melted away.

Does it ever occur to you that the greatest single tribute ever paid to Daniel Webster was paid by Mr. Calhoun? And the greatest single tribute ever paid to Mr. Calhoun was paid by Mr. Webster?

I do not believe that among the compliments or marks of honor which attended the illustrious career of Daniel Webster there is one that he would have valued so much as that which his great friend, his great rival and antagonist, paid him from his dying bed.

"Mr. Webster," said Mr. Calhoun, "has as high a standard of truth as any statesman whom I have met in debate. Convince him and he cannot reply; he is silent; he cannot look truth in the face and oppose it by argument."

There was never, I suppose, paid to John C. Calhoun during his illustrious life any other tribute of honor he would have valued so highly as that which was paid him after his death by his friend, his rival, and antagonist, Daniel Webster.

"Mr. Calhoun," said Mr. Webster, "had the basis, the indispensable basis, of all high character; and that was unspotted integrity—unimpeached honor and character. If he had aspirations they were high and honorable and noble. There was nothing grovelling or low or meanly selfish that came near the head or the heart of Mr. Calhoun. Firm in his purpose, perfectly patriotic and honest, as I was sure he was, in the principles he espoused and in the measures he defended, aside from that large regard for that species of distinction that conducted him to eminent stations for the benefit of the republic, I do not believe he had a selfish motive or a selfish feeling. However he may have differed from others of us in his political opinions or his political principles, those opinions and those principles will now descend to posterity and under the sanction of a great name. He

has lived long enough, he has done enough, and he has done it so well, so successfully, so honorably, as to connect himself for all time with the records of the country. He is now an historical character. Those of us who have known him here will find that he has left upon our minds, and upon our hearts, a strong and lasting impression of his person, his character, and his public performances, which, while we live, will never be obliterated. We shall hereafter, I am sure, indulge in it as a grateful recollection that we have lived in his age, that we have been his contemporaries, that we have seen him and known him. We shall delight to speak of him to those who are rising up to fill our places. And when the time shall come that we ourselves shall go, one after another, in succession, to our graves, we shall carry with us a deep sense of his genius and character, his honor and integrity, his amiable deportment in private life, and the purity of his exalted patriotism."

Just think for a moment what this means. If any man ever lived who was not merely the representative but the embodiment of the thought, opinion, principles, character, quality, intellectual and moral, of the people of South Carolina for the forty years from 1810 until his death, it was John C. Calhoun. If any man ever lived who not merely was the representative, but the embodiment of the thought, opinion, principles, character, quality, intellectual and moral, of the people of Massachusetts, it was Daniel Webster. Now if, after forty years of rivalry, of conflict, of antagonism, these two statesmen of ours, most widely differing in opinions on public questions, who never met but to exchange a blow, the sparks from the encounter of whose mighty swords kindled the fires which spread over the continent, thought thus of one another, is it not likely that if the States they represented

could have met with the same intimacy, with the same knowledge and companionship during all these years, they, too, would have understood, and understanding would have loved each other?

I should like to have had a chance to hearken to their talk. Why, their gossip would almost make up the history of liberty! How they would boast to each other, as sisters do, of their children, their beautiful and brave! How many memories they would find in common! How the warm Scotch-Irish blood would stir in their veins! How the Puritan and the Presbyterian blood would quicken their pulses as they recounted the old struggles for freedom to worship God! What stories they would have to tell each other of the day of the terrible knell from the bell of the old tower of St. Germain de L'Auxerrois, when the edict of Nantes was revoked and sounded its alarm to the Huguenot exiles who found refuge, some in South Carolina and some in Massachusetts! You have heard of James Bowdoin, of Paul Revere, and Peter Faneuil, and Andrew Sigourney. These men brought to the darkened and gloomy mind of the Puritan the sunshine of beautiful France, which South Carolina did not need. They taught our Puritans the much needed lesson that there was something other than the snare of Satan in the song of a bird or the fragrance of a flower.

The boys and girls of South Carolina and the boys and girls of Massachusetts went to the same school in the old days. Their schoolmasters were tyranny and poverty and exile and starvation. They heard the wild music of the wolves' howl and the savages' war-cry. They crossed the Atlantic in midwinter, when

> "Winds blew and waters rolled,
> Strength to the brave, and power, and Deity."

They learned in that school little of the grace or the luxury of life. But they learned how to build States and how to fight tyrants.

They would have found much, these two sisters, to talk about of a later time. South Carolina would have talked of her boy Christopher Gadsden, who George Bancroft said was like a mountain torrent dashing on an overshot wheel. And Massachusetts would try to trump the trick with James Otis, that flame of fire, who said he seemed to hear the prophetic song of the Sybil chanting the springtime of the new empire.

They might dispute a little as to which of these two sons of theirs was the greater. I do not know how that dispute could be settled unless by Otis's own opinion. He said that "Massachusetts sounded the trumpet. But it was owing to South Carolina that it was assented to. Had it not been for South Carolina no Congress would have been appointed. She was all alive and felt at every pore." So perhaps we will accept the verdict of the Massachusetts historian, George Bancroft. He said that "When we count those who above all others contributed to the great result of the Union, we are to name the inspired madman, James Otis, and the unwavering lover of his country, Christopher Gadsden."

It is the same Massachusetts historian, George Bancroft, who says that "the public men of South Carolina were ever ruled by their sense of honor, and felt a stain upon it as a wound."

"Did you ever hear how those wicked boys of mine threw the tea into the harbor," Massachusetts would say; "Oh, yes," South Carolina would answer, "but not one of mine was willing to touch it. So we let it all perish in a cellar."

Certainly these two States liked each other pretty well when Josiah Quincy came down here in 1773 to see Rutledge

and Pinckney and Gadsden to concert plans for the coming rebellion. King George never interfered very much with you. But you could not stand the Boston port bill any more than we could.

There is one thing in which Massachusetts must yield the palm, and that is the courage to face an earthquake, that terrible ordeal in the face of which the bravest manhood goes to pieces, and which your people met a few years ago with a courage and steadfastness which commanded the admiration of all mankind.

If this company had gathered on this spot one hundred and twenty years ago to-night the toast would have been that which no gathering at Charleston in those days failed to drink — "The Unanimous Twenty-six, who would not rescind the Massachusetts circular."

"The royal governor of South Carolina had invited its assembly to treat the letters of the Massachusetts 'with the contempt they deserved;' a committee, composed of Parsons, Gadsden, Pinckney, Lloyd, Lynch, Laurens, Rutledge, Elliot, and Dart, reported them to be 'founded upon undeniable constitutional principles;' and the house, sitting with its doors locked, unanimously directed its speaker to signify to that province its entire approbation. The governor, that same evening, dissolved the assembly by beat of drums."

Mr. Winthrop compared the death of Calhoun to the blotting out of the constellation of the Southern Cross from the sky.

Mr. Calhoun was educated at Yale College, in New England, where President Dwight predicted his future greatness in his boyhood. It is one of the pleasant traditions of my own family that he was a constant and favorite guest in the house of my grandmother, in my mother's childhood, and formed a friendship with her family which he never forgot.

It is delightful also to remember on this occasion that Mr. Lamar, that most Southern man of Southern men, whose tribute to Mr. Calhoun in this city is among the masterpieces of historical literature, paid a discriminating and most affectionate tribute also to Charles Sumner at the time of his death.

In this matchless eulogy Mr. Lamar disclaims any purpose to honor Mr. Sumner because of his high culture, his eminent scholarship, or varied learning, but he declares his admiration for him because of his high moral qualities and his unquenchable love of liberty. Mr. Lamar adds: "My regret is that I did not obey the impulse often found upon me to go to him and offer him my hand and my heart with it."

Mr. Lamar closes this masterpiece of eulogistic oratory with this significant sentence: "Would that the spirit of the illustrious dead whom we honor to-day could speak to both parties in tones that would reach every home throughout this broad territory,—'My countrymen, know one another, and you will love one another.'"

There is another memorable declaration of Mr. Lamar, whom I am proud to have counted among my friends. In his oration at the unveiling of the statue of Calhoun, at Charleston, he said that the appeal to arms had "led to the indissolubility of the American Union and the universality of American freedom."

Now, can we not learn a lesson also from this most significant fact that this great Southern statesman and orator was alike the eulogist of Calhoun and the eulogist of Sumner?

For myself I believe that whatever estrangements may have existed in the past, or may linger among us now, are born of ignorance and will be dispelled by knowledge. I believe that of our forty-five States there are no two who,

if they could meet in the familiarity of personal intercourse, in the fulness of personal knowledge, would not only cease to entertain any bitterness, or alienation, or distrust, but each would utter to the other the words of the Jewish daughter, in that most exquisite of idylls which has come down to us almost from the beginning of time:

"Entreat me not to leave thee, or to return from following after thee; for whither thou goest, I will go; and where thou lodgest, I will lodge; thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God.

"Where thou diest, will I die, and there will I be buried; the Lord do so to me, and more also, if aught but death part me and thee."

Mr. President, I repeat to-night on Southern soil what I said first in my place in the Senate, and what I repeated in Faneuil Hall, with the full approbation of an enthusiastic and crowded audience, representing the culture and the Puritanism of Massachusetts.

The American people have learned to know as never before the quality of the Southern stock, and to value its noble contribution to the American character; its courage in war, its attachment to home and State, its love of rural life, its capacity for great affection and generous emotion, its aptness for command; above all, its constancy, that virtue above all virtues, without which no people can long be either great or free. After all, the fruit of this vine has a flavor not to be found in other gardens. In the great and magnificent future which is before our country, you are to contribute a large share both of strength and beauty.

The best evidence of our complete reconciliation is that there is no subject that we need to hurry by with our fingers on our lips. The time has come when Americans, north,

south, east, and west, may discuss any question of public interest in a friendly and quiet spirit, without recrimination and without heat, each understanding the other, each striving to help the other, as men who are bearing a common burden and looking forward with a common hope. I know that this is the feeling of the people of the North. I think I know that it is the feeling of the people of the South. In our part of the country we have to deal with the great problems of the strife between labor and capital, and of the government of cities where vast masses of men born on foreign soil, of different nationalities and of different races, strangers to American principles, to American ideas, to American history, are gathered together to exercise the unaccustomed functions of self-government in an almost unrestricted liberty. You have to deal with a race problem rendered more difficult still by a still larger difference in the physical and intellectual qualities of the two races whom Providence has brought together.

I should be false to my own manhood if I failed to express my profound regret and sorrow for some occurrences which have taken place recently, both in the North and in the South. I am bound to say that, considering all the circumstances, the Northern community has been the worse offender.

It is well known (or if it be not well known I am willing to make it known) that I look with inexpressible alarm and dread upon the prospect of adding to our population millions of persons dwelling in tropical climes, aliens in race and in religion, either to share in our self-government, or, what is worse still, to set an example to mankind of the subjection of one people to another. We have not yet solved the problem how men of different races can dwell together in the same land in accordance with our principles of

republican rule and republican liberty. I am not one of those who despair of the solution of that problem in justice and in freedom. I do not look upon the dark side when I think of the future of our beloved land. I count it the one chief good fortune of my own life that, as I grow older, I look out on the world with hope and not despair. We have made wonderful advances within the lifetime of the youngest of us. While we hear from time to time of occurrences much to be deplored and utterly to be condemned, yet, on the whole, we are advancing quite as rapidly as could be expected to the time when these races will live together on American soil in freedom, in honor, and in peace, every man enjoying his just right wherever the American constitution reigns and wherever the American flag floats —when the influence of intelligence, of courage,of energy,inspired by a lofty patriotism and by a Christian love will have its full and legitimate effect, not through disorder, or force, or lawlessness, but under the silent and sure law by which always the superior leads and the inferior follows. The time has already come when throughout large spaces in our country both races are dwelling together in peace and harmony. I believe that condition of things to be the rule in the South and not to be the exception. We have a right to claim that the country and the South shall be judged by the rule and not the exception.

But we want you to stand by us in our troubles as brethren and as countrymen. We shall have to look, in many perils that are before us in the near future, to the conservatism and wisdom of the South. And if the time shall come when you think we can help you your draft shall be fully honored.

But to-night belongs to the memory of the Pilgrims. The Pilgrim of Plymouth has a character in history distinct from

any other. He differed from the Puritan of Salem or Boston in everything but the formula in which his religious faith was expressed. He was gentle, peaceful, tolerant, gracious. There was no intolerance or hatred or bigotry in his little commonwealth. He hanged no witches, he whipped no Quakers, he banished no heretic. His little State existed for seventy-two years, when it was blended with the Puritan Commonwealth of Massachusetts. He enacted the mildest code of laws on the face of the earth. There were but eight capital offences in Plymouth. Sir James Mackintosh held in his hand a list of two hundred and twenty-three when he addressed the House of Commons at the beginning of the present century. He held no foot of land not fairly obtained by honest purchase. He treated the Indian with justice and good faith, setting an example which Vattel, the foremost writer on the law of nations, commends to mankind. In his earliest days his tolerance was an example to Roger Williams himself, who has left on record his gratitude for the generous friendship of Winslow. Governor Bradford's courtesy entertained the Catholic priest, who was his guest, with a fish dinner on Friday. John Robinson, the great leader of the Pilgrims, uttered the world's declaration of religious independence when he told his little flock on the wharf at Delft Haven, as reported by Winslow:

"We are ere long to part asunder and the Lord knoweth whether he should live to see our face again. But, whether the Lord hath appointed it or not, he charged us before God and his blessed angels to follow him no further than he followed Christ; and, if God should reveal anything to us by any other instrument of his, to be as ready to receive it as we were to receive any truth by his ministry, for he was very confident the Lord had more truth and light yet to break out of his Holy Word."

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The Pilgrim was a model and an example of a beautiful, simple, and stately courtesy. John Robinson, and Bradford, and Brewster, and Carver, and Winslow differ as much from the dark and haughty Endicott, or the bigoted Cotton Mather as, in the English church, Jeremy Taylor, and George Herbert, and Donne, and Vaughn differ from Laud, or Bonner, or Bancroft.

Let us not be misunderstood. I am not myself a descendant from the Pilgrims. Every drop of my blood through every line of descent for three centuries has come from a Puritan ancestor. I am ready to do battle for the name and fame of the Massachusetts Puritan in any field and against any antagonist. Let others, if they like, trace their lineage to Norman pirate or to robber baron. The children of the Puritan are not ashamed of him. The Puritan, as a distinct, vital, and predominant power, lived less than a century in England. He appeared early in the reign of Elizabeth, who came to the throne in 1558, and departed at the restoration of Charles II, in 1660. But in that brief period he was the preserver, aye, the creator of English freedom. By the confession of the historians who most dislike him, it is due to him that there is an English constitution. He created the modern House of Commons. That House, when he took his seat in it, was the feeble and timid instrument of despotism. When he left it, it was what it has ever since been — the strongest, freest, most venerable legislative body the world has ever seen. When he took his seat in it, it was little more than the register of the king's command. When he left it, it was the main depository of the national dignity and the national will. King and minister and prelate who stood in his way he brought to the bar and to the block. In the brief but crowded century he made the name of Englishman

the highest title of honor upon the earth. A great historian has said: "The dread of his invincible army was on all the inhabitants of the island. He placed the name of John Milton high on the illustrious roll of the great poets of the world, and the name of Oliver Cromwell highest on the roll of English sovereigns." The historian might have added that the dread of this invincible leader was on all the inhabitants of Europe.

And so, when a son of the Puritans comes to the South, when he visits the home of the Rutledges and the Pinckneys and of John C. Calhoun, if there be any relationship in heroism or among the lovers of constitutional liberty, he feels that he can

"Claim kindred there and have the claim allowed."

The Puritan differs from the Pilgrim as the Hebrew prophet from St. John. Abraham, ready to sacrific Isaac at the command of God; Jeremiah, uttering his terrible prophecy of the downfall of Judea; Brutus, condemning his son to death; Brutus, slaying his friend for the liberty of Rome; Aristides, going into exile, are his spiritual progenitors, as Stonewall Jackson was of his spiritual kindred. You will find him wherever men are sacrificing life or the delights of life on the altar of duty.

But the Pilgrim is of a gentler and a lovelier nature. He, too, if duty or honor call, is ready for the sacrifice. But his weapon is love and not hate. His spirit is the spirit of John, the Beloved Disciple, the spirit of grace, mercy, and peace. His memory is as sweet and fragrant as the perfume of the little flower which gave its name to the ship which brought him over.

So, Mr. President, responding to your sentiment, I give you mine:

South Carolina and Massachusetts, the Presbyterian and the Puritan, the Huguenot and the Pilgrim; however separated by distance or by difference, they will at last surely be drawn together by a common love of liberty and a common faith in God.

FAVORING McKINLEY'S RE-ELECTION

SPEECH DELIVERED AT CONCORD, MASSACHUSETTS, OCTOBER 12, 1900

IT is more than fifty years since I ceased to be a dweller in Concord. A few old men are all there are left of the companions of my boyhood. And yet I cannot overcome the feeling that it is strange that I should come here to speak and not to hear—to give instruction and not to get it. Certainly no Concord man, however long he may live, wherever on the face of the earth he may wander, can fail to carry with him the inspiration of the spot. The great generations of the Puritan and the Revolution and the war for the Union seem ever standing upon these plains, clasping hands in an eternal companionship. For myself, the influence of Concord through my whole life has been around me and over me like a sky.

From the beginning, since Peter Bulkeley came here in 1635, this town has been consecrated to righteousness and liberty. There have been great men here whose fame, like the shot our ancestors fired at the bridge, has been heard round the world. Concord has owed much to them. But I think they would all be glad to say they have owed quite as much to Concord.

Governor Banks said at Cambridge, in his somewhat grandiloquent way, speaking of old Josiah Quincy, that he would be reckoned among honorable men if their number were reduced to that of the mouths of the Nile or the gates of Thebes. I suppose of the number of the men who have been great inspirers of mankind, either of the intellect or the spirit, for a thousand years were to be counted upon the fingers of the two hands, however otherwise the list might be made up, it would still contain the name of Waldo Emerson.

I remember also the gracious and beautiful woman whose presence gave a new charm to the historic old manse whose genius explored almost the whole range of literature and science; of whom Edward Everett said she could fill every professor's chair in Harvard College and who, while she discharged every household duty, read Æschylus or Tacitus or the "Mécanique Céleste" in the interval of rocking the cradle.

I will not speak of men of my own blood and kindred. But I recall also, what a few only of you will recall with me, the name of another Emerson, also a dweller in Concord, whom I think with good reason to have been the brightest genius ever born on New England soil. His brother Waldo, who was eight years his senior, said of him that all the years to come of his life leaned upon him; that he deferred to him on so many questions and trusted him more than himself; that he never should hear again such speaking as his; that his genius and the weight of his thoughts made Shakespeare seem more conceivable to him. This estimate of Charles Emerson was not born of a brother's fondness. Daniel Webster, with whom he studied law, when he was asked where Charles Emerson should settle, answered: "Let him settle anywhere. Let him settle in the midst of the backwoods in Maine. The

clients will throng after him." Dr. Channing said when he died that all New England mourned his loss; and Edward Everett spoke his eulogy at Harvard. Wendell Holmes said of him: "A beautiful, high-souled, pure spirit, he was the very ideal of an embodied celestial intelligence; a soul glowing like the rose of morning with enthusiasm; a character white as the lily in purity." Charles Emerson died in early youth. But he was already preparing himself to deal with the great question which then lowered like a dark cloud over the public life of this country and looked forward with good reason to the debates in the Senate as to his natural and proper sphere. He was alive with the spirit of liberty. Miss Martineau records that when, after the murder of Lovejoy, the mob in Boston threatened the persons who met in Faneuil Hall to express their sympathy that the adored Charles Emerson, as she calls him, said that it was better that Boston be laid in ashes than that free speech should be suppressed.

So I hope you will believe that I could not come to Concord to bring base and ignoble counsel. Four years ago this town gave President McKinley 517 votes, against 105 for Mr. Bryan. The State gave him 175,000 majority. I suppose but for one question that majority would be largely increased this year. But for one question our Republican meetings in Massachusetts would be not to debate public policies, but only to sing pæans of triumph. We have the same old Democratic party; we have the same old Mr. Bryan; we have, with this one exception, the same old declaration of purpose in the same old platform. Every Republican promise, every Republican prophecy has been fulfilled. We touched the high-water mark of prosperity so far under the McKinley bill four years before. We had touched the low-water mark of adversity in the four years' nightmare of Democratic administra-

tion. We have waked from that hideous dream and the prosperity of the American people has risen higher yet.

We had a great debate in 1896. We made up the issue and the Democratic party was defeated. We have had four years' experience. The Democratic party comes back, I say, for a new trial with the same old candidate, the same old leaders, and, with one, or perhaps I ought properly to say, two exceptions, the same old doctrines. They mean to elect Mr. Bryan if they can; they mean to get the free coinage of silver at 16 to 1 if they can; they mean to overthrow the protective system, if they can; they mean to adopt Mr. Bryan's remedy for what they call "trusts" or great and overgrown aggregations of capital, if they can; they mean to impose an income tax by national authority, if they can, and they mean to reconstruct the Supreme Court of the United States, if they can. Two other questions have assumed prominence at the present time not discussed in the last election, but practical questions now. In five States at the South the Democratic party has succeeded by ingenious processes in taking away from the colored men the right to vote. Other States are following their examples, so that before long if they do not stop there are to be ten million colored peons in the United States deprived of the rights of American citizenship, and the question is upon us whether we shall execute the constitutional mandate that the Southern Democratic States which have done this thing shall have their representation in Congress proportionately reduced, or whether you and I also are to be disfranchised and have fifty or sixty men make laws for us who represent nothing but usurpation. That question demands our attention now.

Another question has come up for our consideration. That

question is how we are to deal with the people of the Philippine Islands. And in speaking of it, as I shall do before I get through, I purpose to take the bull squarely by the horns. I stated in my place in the Senate, as I have stated in many appeals to the public while the question was going on, my total dissent from the policy which was adopted in the Spanish treaty of 1899. I declared at the same time with equal emphasis that my hope for the ultimate triumph of justice and righteousness and liberty, as I understood them in this matter, was in the Republican party and nowhere else. I have never said one thing without saying the other. Both those propositions I stand by to-day. If there has been any mistake or wrong in the past, Mr. William J. Bryan is as responsible for it as any man, as any ten men in the United States, since the treaty left the hands of the President. It was he who stabbed the cause of anti-imperialism in the back in the hour of its assured victory. He says that he wanted to get the question out of the way and to restore peace, and that he trusted to a resolution of the Senate to prevent the mischief which the treaty would accomplish. I shall deal with this pretext a little later. I will say one thing about it at this moment. The Senate was the stronghold, the citadel, the West Point of the opposition to what is called imperialism. It was agreed by everybody, it was distinctly asserted by the President, that we had no title whatever to any part of the Philippine Islands save only the city of Manila. We could get no title to any part of the Philippine Islands except by a treaty with Spain, which could be accomplished only by a two thirds vote of the Senate. The defeat of the treaty was as sure, as it seemed, as the rising of to-morrow's sun, with many votes to spare, when Mr. Bryan came in person to Washington to secure its adoption.

He was the acknowledged leader of the Democratic party; he had been its candidate at the last election; he was sure to be at the next election. He put forth all his authority to induce his unwilling followers to change their attitude and to vote for the treaty, in spite of the remonstrances of the wisest and most experienced leaders of the Democracy. It was as if some great military and political leader of the Revolutionary war had surrendered West Point to the enemy in the midst of the struggle, had got the Continental Congress to declare that we were the lawful subjects of Great Britain and that King George was our rightful sovereign, and said that he did it because he wanted peace; that he hoped later to get through a resolution somewhere which would declare our independence.

But I wish to speak for a moment of the other issues of the campaign. I speak of them because I believe that Mr. Bryan does not mean business in this matter of imperialism, or if he does mean business, he means nothing that will not be better and more safely accomplished by the Republican party, and that he does mean business in the matter of the free coinage of silver and the attack on the supreme court and the establishment of free trade and his reckless and destructive plans of dealing with the matter of trusts.

Nobody is talking much about the tariff just now. We have debated that question in this country for a hundred years. I am not going to debate it now. We have the theorist on one side and the practical man and the statesman on the other. All the time experience has given the lie to theory. Nearly every statesman whose name has survived the falling of the gravel on his coffin has come to adopt the doctrine of protection. The men who are charged with the administration of great industries, who must pay good wages if they

are to be paid, are on that side. The two great men, Jefferson and Jackson, to whom Democracy likes to trace its lineage, were extreme protectionists. So were the fathers of the republic. So were Washington, Lincoln, Grant, Webster, and Clay. So were the two Adamses. So, in his earlier and better days, was Calhoun.

We were told that this policy would increase the cost of living and would not raise wages. Yet under it the cost of living steadily goes down and wages steadily go up.

We were told that the rich would get richer and the poor would get poorer. But under it the rich get richer and the poor get richer too, as is shown by the $550,000,000 of deposits in the savings banks of Massachusetts, and the $1,623,000,000 of deposits in the savings banks of the country. They told us it would isolate the country and cut us off from other markets; that we must buy of other countries or we could not sell to them. They are answered by foreign exports of $1,370,000,000; by exports of manufactures alone of $432,000,000, and a balance of trade in our favor during the present administration greater than all such balances in our previous history added together. We shall not get our Democratic friends to talk free trade this year to the workingmen of the country. They remember too well the two terrible nightmares of Mr. Cleveland's two administrations. Under the McKinley bill the prosperity of the workingmen of this country reached the high-water mark of the world's history. Under Mr. Cleveland it went down to the worst condition we have known in our own history, while under the Dingley bill the tide has come back again and risen higher than ever before.

During Cleveland's two administrations the most sanguine prayer either workman or employer dared to breathe was,

"God grant I may be no worse off to-morrow than I was yesterday." Under President McKinley the employer gets rich and the workman every Saturday night lays up a half or a third of his wages.

What does that one thing mean? We hear with a glow of pride that the balance of trade is in our favor and that England is coming to New York to borrow money; of the swelling tide of our exports; of the supremacy of the United States in agriculture and in manufacture; of an internal commerce that thrusts into insignificance all the foreign commerce of the earth.

But, after all, what is that compared with the thought of five million American homes where there has been employment, and a half or a third of the earnings are laid up at the week's end? Comfort for the wife, education for the children, a quiet Sabbath for the family, lectures and books and music and good clothes.

I speak of this matter now only because Mr. Bryan makes it a very practical question again when he proposes his remedy for the evil of trusts.

The American people are becoming alarmed by great aggregations of wealth and by great business monopolies and combinations which we call trusts. They can, in general, be reached only by State authority. Congress has no power unless the trust be engaged in foreign commerce or in commerce between the States. If a trust carry on a manufactory and sell and deliver its product at its own factory, even if the article be afterward transported to another State, the State legislature and not Congress must deal with it. I do not find that in any Democratic State, so far, any efficient remedy has been adopted or proposed.

If there be a comedy in political history it is the Demo-

cratic attitude toward the question of these large concentrations of capital. Take them east, west, north or south—wherever you find a great trust you will find a great Democratic leader in the midst of it. Just as the Democratic campaign begun came the disclosures of the Ice Trust with the great Democratic king of New York, where Democracy itself is nothing but a great trust, among its largest owners. The Senate committee, of which I was a member, spent a large part of last winter in investigating the contest between the two Democratic leaders of Montana over a seat in the Senate. They were two of the richest men in the world. One of them was said, I don't know how truly, to be the richest man in the world. His son testified that he himself had an income of $250,000 a year. The other contestant charged him with having bought up an entire legislature by wholesale. The Senate committee—Republicans and Democrats alike—were unanimous in finding the case made out. But Mr. Clark resigned his seat without bringing it to a vote in the Senate. The Democrats on the committee agreed with us, but they thought our report was defective because we didn't report that the other Democrat was just as bad. Clark went home, was put on the Democratic National Committee, made an enormous contribution to the campaign fund, and now is one of the pillars of the Democratic platform. He stands immediately under that plank which sets forth the danger to the Republic of large aggregations of capital.

They talk about silver and imperialism and trusts. I do not include the whole Democratic party in what I say. But there are large communities in this country where the Democratic party is nothing but an aggregation of trusts. It is like an artichoke. If you peel off one layer you come to

another, and so on down to the core. There are States where the real Democratic platform is a bank account. The Democratic leaders confront each other like knights of old, but with this difference: The knights of old laid their hands on the hilts of their swords. The Democratic champion confronts his antagonist each with a pen in one hand and a check book in the other, and shouts his angry defiance, "Draw, villain, draw!"

But we are told that these great trusts are a great public danger. We are told that they are likely to become a cancer on the body of the State. I hope they are not quite so bad as that. But I agree that they are in danger of becoming a great evil. Mr. Bryan is not the first cancer doctor who has sought to induce a confiding patient to trust his remedy. In general in such cases the doctor has been more dangerous than the disorder. If the patient gets cured of his disease he is pretty sure to die of his physician. If the trust be as bad as Mr. Bryan represents it, it is not, in my judgment, as great a danger as Bryanism. I do not believe either in his diagnosis or his prescription.

It is barely possible that among Mr. Bryan's numerous speeches there may have been one or two that you and I have not read. But the only practical remedy that he suggests is that if any protected article be manufactured by a trust, that article shall at once be put upon the free list. They tell us the tariff is not an issue in this campaign; but when Mr. Bryan comes to talk of trusts he makes the tariff a very real and vital issue. His remedy is, in substance, to put the whole protective policy of the country in the power of any corrupt trust, great or small, that may choose to assail it. Let a half dozen men get together and form a trust to manufacture woollen machinery or to manufacture woollen cloth, and at

once every machine shop in the country or every woollen cloth factory in the country loses its protection. The trust may be formed for that very purpose. It makes no difference to this sage philosopher. If the patient get a pimple on his nose, it is a sign the blood is disordered, and Dr. Bryan proposes to cut the nose off; if he get a tumor in his arm his only remedy is amputation.

I have never heard of a single practical suggestion to prevent these great monopolies from any Democratic quarter. The Republicans in Congress passed a measure under which the Supreme Court of the United States has declared illegal a large railroad combination, which in my opinion will have a great influence in breaking up large combinations of manufacturing monopolies. I think also that the laws of trade will overthrow them sooner or later. They have, so far, in general proved unprofitable to the men who have engaged in them. They have enabled men who wish to sell out to get a large price for their plants, and they have enabled watered stocks to be put upon the market. They have in many cases cheapened prices and raised wages. In some cases they have inflated prices and reduced wages. They are not going to ruin this country. The American people will outgrow them and will find the way to deal with them.

The trust is not a cancer. It is only a boil. They do not threaten the life, they do not seriously impair the health of the industries of this country. They will hurt the employer and the capitalist in the end more than they will hurt the workman. The great law of the human progress, of which our own country is the great example, will still prevail.

Among the best political teachers of the English-speaking race, both here and in the Old World, have been the poets.

Milton and Wordsworth and Tennyson, Emerson, and Whittier have been among the wisest and the surest of political guides to the thought of the youth of America and England. Tennyson truly says of England that her freedom slowly broadens down from precedent to precedent. And, gentlemen, I think we can affirm truthfully and without boasting that many of the great precedents that have broadened English liberty have been precedents set to her by America and have been precedents set to America by Massachusetts. But the same process is going on surely and not too slowly with us at home. Ever the poor are becoming richer; ever the ignorant are learning; ever the wretched are becoming happier. There is little danger from aristocracy or from armies or navies. There is little permanent danger from wealthy classes. There is little danger where every child has an equal share of the father's estate. Gathered wealth scatters again. The army disperses. The soldier becomes the citizen. Seventy million freemen will never be enslaved by their own armies. Seventy million Americans, educated in common schools, will never be corrupted by their own wealth. There is but one danger. That comes from agitators like Mr. Bryan, who would destroy alike the security of property, the protection of courts, and the sanctity of laws. That danger also will pass by and disappear. There is evil enough in this world. But of one thing I am sure—that from year to year and from generation to generation the lot of mankind is growing better. This life of ours is sometimes compared to a vast staircase, of which the top and the foot are alike shrouded in darkness, but from which is heard the sound of ascending and descending humanity. And one thing is certain, that the sound most clearly to be distinguished is the sound of the footstep of the rich man

descending and of the poor man ascending. As has been well said, the polished boot comes down and the wooden shoe goes up.

Four years ago the people of Massachusetts rejected Mr. Bryan by an overwhelming vote largely because of his proposal to degrade the currency. He proposed to make a silver dollar coined at the ratio of sixteen to one legal tender for all debts and lawful payment of all wages. He tried to get favor for this plan by a passionate attack on wealth, by undertaking to set class against class, to set the farmer against the manufacturer, to set the poor against the rich, and to destroy respect for the courts. The people of Massachusetts rejected him and his schemes. They said he was inviting them to a passionate crusade of dishonor. They said that to pay the foreign creditor that way would be a breach of national faith, would disgrace the flag, would destroy the credit of the republic. They said that to pay wages in that way would cut down the three quarter value of the workman's wage more than one half. They thought that to pay debts at home in that way would diminish by one half the value of every deposit in a savings bank, of every policy of insurance, of every note, and every mortgage. Nothing has happened to change our mind since, except that Mr. Bryan's prophecies and Mr. Bryan's arguments have all been proved worthless by the four years' experience. He told you you would have a time of extreme depression and poverty if you did not take his advice, and you had a time of unexampled prosperity. He told the farmers of the country that the price of silver and the price of wheat always remained the same. And the farmer's wheat went up to a dollar a bushel and silver went down to thirty-seven cents.

Mr. Bryan and his party in their platform—all his parties in their platforms—stand for the same doctrine now. But we are told he cannot do anything about it. The matter is settled and silver is not an issue. Mr. Schurz, of whom I would speak with entire respect, says in the first place that Mr. Bryan cannot do it while there is a Republican Senate, and in the next place, that Congress next winter can pass a law to tie his hands. On the other hand, Mr. Gage, the secretary of the treasury, tells you that Mr. Bryan can do it by executive power alone; that he can pay the interest on the debt and all the current expenses of the government in silver dollars, and that will bring the country on to a silver basis.

Now, I will not undertake to say whether Mr. Gage or Mr. Schurz be wrong as to the interpretation of existing laws. But I think I can speak with some authority, from a pretty long experience, as to the possibility of getting new legislation next winter. And I say, with whatever title I may have to respect, that with thirteen great appropriation bills to be passed in thirteen weeks, besides the other great questions that must be dealt with, it would be absolutely impossible to get through such a law as Mr. Schurz proposes, even if a majority of the House and Senate should attempt it. And in the next place, I say that no Congress ever would dare to pass such a bill after the American people at a presidential election had elected a President in favor of the free coinage of silver. It would be a gross and wanton defiance of public sentiment, upon which no party and no Congress would ever venture.

So it seems to me that Mr. Bryan will have no difficulty in doing this thing if he wants to. It is not a question whether Mr. Schurz be right or whether Mr. Gage be right

in his idea of the extent of executive authority under existing law. The question is, what the President thinks he has the lawful right to do. There can be no remedy but impeachment—impeachment by a House of Representatives elected at the same time he was elected—and conviction by the Senate by a two thirds vote. Now, what does Mr. Bryan himself mean to do and think he has the right to do? He said four years ago, in a speech at Knoxville, Tenn.:

"If there is any one who believes the gold standard is a good thing, or that it must be maintained, I warn him not to cast his vote for me, because I promise him it will not be maintained in this country longer than I am able to get rid of it."

And at Topeka, August 13, 1900, when he accepted the Populists' nomination, speaking of monetary reform, he said:

"If a bad monetary system drags down the price of the farmer's products, while monopolies raise the price of what he buys, he burns the candle at both ends and must expect to suffer in comparison with those who belong to the classes more favored by legislation.

"No Populist, however sanguine, believes it possible to elect a Populist President at this time, but the Populist party may be able to determine whether a Democrat or a Republican will be elected.

"If the fusion forces win a victory this fall, we shall see the reform accomplished before the next presidential election, and with its accomplishment the people will find it easier to secure any remedial legislation which they may desire."

He was not speaking then of legislation, or of calling Congress together to propose something. He says, if you carry the election this thing shall be done, and then, after it is done, we will have our remedial legislation. He is thinking of the use of executive power and not trusting it

to anybody else. He is proposing to act in that matter on our friend Edward Everett Hale's celebrated maxim, "If you want a thing done, do it yourself." He does not tell his followers, I will call Congress together and see what they will do; he says this thing shall be done.

He says the thing will be done. He means business. It will be in Mr. Bryan's power to do it. He can do it without the help of Congress. That man deceives himself, that man lulls himself into false security, who believes that these things mean dishonor and ruin and proposes to vote for Mr. Bryan because he thinks there is no danger that it will be done.

Mr. Gage has told us that Mr. Bryan could break down the gold standard. He could order his secretary of the treasury to pay in silver all the public debt payable in coin, principal and interest, and all the current disbursements of the government, amounting from $1,000,000 to $1,750,000 a day. Mr. Gage tells us that while there would be a little difficulty in getting silver enough to do it in the beginning from the silver certificates and the silver coin, it would stop the inflow of gold and that the time would not be distant when all the revenues of the government and the disbursements of the government would be paid in silver.

That would excite alarm. It would excite alarm the whole world over. The greenback and the treasury certificates would come for redemption. We should have a deficiency instead of a surplus and we should have the industrial paralysis of 1893 and 1896, when the question what was to be the standard agitated the public mind.

No, fellow citizens, President Bryan, if there be a President Bryan, will do in this matter exactly what candidate Bryan thinks he could do and what he has declared his purpose

to do. He will not leave that responsibility to an unwilling Congress. I think I make no mistake when I impress upon the men who believe as I do and as you do that the free coinage of silver means national dishonor and the ruin of business, the message of Mr. Bryan himself: "If any man believes the gold standard is a good thing, I warn him not to vote for me."

How can you put confidence in Mr. Bryan or in the men who are to be his counsellors and advisers in the Solid South, in Mr. Croker, in Mr. David B. Hill, in the men who are governing our great cities? This is not political or partisan prejudice. It is the judgment which the sober sense of the American people formed four years ago. Nothing has happened since to change it. I wish to read a sentence from Mr. Carl Schurz, whom no one will charge with being a partisan. I would not speak unkindly or disrespectfully of Mr. Schurz. I have differed from him many times. I think he has erred in undervaluing the importance of party organization, without which all government in a republic must be chaos, and whether it be a chaos of fallible men or of archangels, the difference in the result will not be very great. But Mr. Schurz has rendered some notable service to the republic. He was a soldier in the war for the Union. Before the war he made a powerful contribution to the great debate for liberty and was of inestimable service in bringing his German fellow countrymen into the Republican party. Since the war he has argued with great power and effect the questions of honest money and sound finance many times when honest money and sound finance were in peril. Let us not forget these things.

But here is what Mr. Schurz said—if he be correctly reported—at Peoria, Ill., in 1896:

"Abraham Lincoln and Bryan! Abraham Lincoln and Altgeld! To associate these names together as allies in a common cause—aye, to pronounce them together in the same breath—is not only a fraud, it is a sacrilege."

Has anything happened since to change that estimate of Mr. Bryan? He has made a few vague promises, which in my judgment it will be impossible for him to carry out. He has made a most impracticable suggestion as to what he will do in regard to imperialism—vague, indefinite, and, in my judgment, absolutely worthless.

We are to judge of men, especially candidates for office, by acts, not by promises; by what they do, not by what they say The one thing that Mr. William J. Bryan has done since Mr. Schurz said that of him was to stab the opposition in the back in the hour of its assured victory and procure the passage of the Spanish treaty, which purchased sovereignty over ten million people for a price; pledged the faith of the United States to pay for it; promised that Congress, and not the people, should hereafter determine their fate; and made it the constitutional duty of the President of the United States to reduce them to subjection until Congress should act. Since Mr. Schurz uttered that opinion of Mr. Bryan, Mr. Bryan has by his conduct piled mountain high the reasons which justify that estimate.

Abraham Lincoln told his countrymen in 1864 that it was not a good time to swap horses when they were crossing a stream. It does not seem to me to be a very good time to swap horses now, while we are crossing the tempestuous Chinese Sea in a typhoon. I like the way President McKinley and the department of state are handling this great and difficult Chinese question. They will go through with it to the satisfaction of the American people.

But they tell you that a great mistake has been made in the matter of the Philippine Islands. I think so, too. My opinion is well known, or if it be not well known, I am willing to make it known, that I thought we should have done in the Philippine Islands exactly what we have done and mean to do in Cuba. I think that in that way we should have saved the war, we should have had the love of that people instead of their hatred, we should have had everything heart could desire in the way of glory, in the way of trade, aye, and in the American sense of the word, in the way of empire. The policy which seemed to me best for the country seemed to me also best for the Republican party. If that course had been pursued, we should, in my opinion, have had the presidential election almost without a struggle. I met the other day in New York the man whom I regard as the ablest and wisest Democratic leader in the country—the man to whom more than to any ten others President Cleveland owed his victory in two elections. I asked him what he thought of the prospect of the campaign. He said he was not yet well enough informed to make a prediction, but all the Democrats he talked with felt very confident. I said: "Suppose we had taken toward the Philippine Islands the same course that we took in regard to Cuba; what sort of a campaign should we have had?" He replied: "We could hardly have made a fight with you." I believed that if that course had been taken we should have had, with perhaps the exception of a single State, a solid North and should have carried quite a number of States at the South besides those we carried four years ago. But thinking so, I never doubted the integrity and the patriotic purpose of the large majority of the Republican party in both Houses of Congress. They were misled, in my opinion, as to the

facts. They were misled as to the character and capacity of the people of the Philippine Islands. They were misled, some of them, by a dream of empire and by what I deem a false conception of glory. But it never occurred to me to doubt their sincerity and their love of liberty. It never occurred to me to withdraw my confidence from them, whom I have known through and through, in and out, for more than thirty years, and transfer it to Mr. Bryan and Mr. Croker and the leaders of the white Democracy of the South.

My relations with President McKinley have remained unchanged and unbroken. I have watched the career of that brave soldier, of that eloquent orator, of that able statesman, from the time when he offered his life for his country in earliest youth, a life spent in the face of day, until the time when his countrymen who knew him elevated him to the foremost place on the face of the earth. The feeling on my part, in spite of this one difference of opinion, has been a feeling of unbroken confidence and respect, and on his part, if I may trust the assurances of those who are nearest to him, of unbroken kindness.

Men differ in opinion as to great concerns of public policy. Men differ in opinion as to great questions, righteousness, justice, and liberty, when they are involved in the affairs of state. Our history has been full of the dissensions of great men and the bitter divisions of good men whom their countrymen to-day, looking back, regard with equal honor and reverence. I held an opinion upon this question which I stated then as became a Massachusetts senator, and which I am ready to state now as becomes a son of Massachusetts and a son of Concord. But I cannot impute to the men who differ from me—men like my colleagues in both Houses of

Congress, men like Andrew White and James B. Angell and President Schurman among our instructors of youth; men like Edward Everett Hale and Lyman Abbott and the editors of the "Congregationalist" and the "Independent" among our religious teachers—that they are actuated by any less patriotic motives than I am, or that they are less deserving of confidence than Mr. Bryan or Mr. Tillman or Mr. Richard Croker.

What has been done has been done. What has been has been.

"Not fate itself can o'er the past have power."

Our question now is for the future.

We cannot forget that for everything that has happened Mr. Bryan is more responsible than any other man, than any other twenty men, since the Spanish treaty left the hands of the President. That treaty involved this whole question. It affirmed the constitutional power of the United States to acquire foreign territory; it pledged the faith of the people that the Congress of the United States and not the people of the Philippine Islands should determine their future fate. It purchased sovereignty over an unwilling people and pledged the faith of the United States to a foreign Power to pay for it. And when the defeat of that treaty seemed assured, with many votes to spare, Mr. Bryan, the great leader of the Democratic party, its last candidate for the Presidency, certain to be its next candidate for the Presidency, came to Washington in person, disregarding the remonstrances of his wisest supporters, and stabbed the Opposition in the back in the hour of its assured victory. I cannot doubt that he did that because he wished to keep this question open as a political issue for the campaign. He knew that the issues he had lost in a time of adversity he could not maintain in a

time of prosperity. He knew that his case was hopelessly lost, as we all knew it, unless he could keep alive this question for this election. The pretexts which he puts forth and which satisfy some of his supporters now did not satisfy them then. Mr. Mason of Illinois, who had opposed the acquisition of the Philippine Islands, had been invited to deliver an address by the anti-imperialists of Boston. He voted for the treaty, and they at once cancelled the invitation. They did not think a man worthy to be heard in Boston who had voted for that treaty. And now they claim that the man who procured its passage is worthy to be trusted with the destiny of the American people.

The excuses Mr. Bryan gives for this course seem to me infinitely frivolous and pitiful. He says that he expected that the Senate would pass a resolution declaring our purpose not to retain sovereignty over these islands, and that he wanted to stop the war with Spain, and thought it better to trust the question to our own friends than to the foreign enemy. He knew perfectly well, as every man knows, that the war with Spain was over. The commissioners of Spain had said formally that the United States must dictate its own terms, and that they were helpless to make further resistance. That communication of the Spanish commissioners had been communicated to Congress and made public. He knew perfectly well that there was not the slightest validity to such a resolution unless it passed both houses and was approved by the President. It was as I have said elsewhere, as if in the middle of the Revolutionary war some great general and political leader had surrendered West Point to the enemy and got the Continental Congress to declare that King George was our lawful sovereign, and that Parliament was our lawful legislature, and then said that after peace on those terms

he hoped to get a resolution declaring that we should some time have our independence. That treaty made it the constitutional duty of Congress to exercise sovereignty over the Philippine Islands, and according to the decision of the supreme court made it the constitutional duty of the President to reduce them to order and submission until Congress should act. It has been said by a New York newspaper that such a power has not been conferred on Congress by the constitution. It is not in the least inconsistent with it. When the faith of the American people has been pledged to a foreign government by a treaty, the treaty-making power must of necessity decide the constitutional question, just as the supreme court decides it in domestic questions. But if that be not so the question of constitutionality is practically settled for the executive of the next four years by the opinion of Mr. McKinley who negotiated the treaty and the opinion of Mr. Bryan who procured its adoption. Mr. Bryan thinks that treaty constitutional or he would not have secured the ratification. So our anti-imperialistic friends propose to-day to support a President who believes it within the constitutional power of Congress to govern the Philippine people, who advised and secured the adoption of a treaty pledging them to do it, and who must believe also that it is the constitutional duty of the President to reduce them to order and submission until Congress acts.

No, fellow citizens. If this Spanish treaty be right, President McKinley and Mr. Bryan were both right. If this Spanish treaty be wrong, President McKinley and Mr. Bryan were equally wrong. Now, what are we to do for the future? I can find no substantial difference when we come to any practical declaration of purpose between the two candidates or the two parties on that question. There are men in both

parties who say that we ought to hold on forever to this conquest. Some of them think it our interest to do it, regardless either of the desire or the character of the Philippine people. I suppose Mr. Morgan of Alabama, who, if the Democrats come into power, will have charge in the Senate of the great committee on foreign relations, is of that way of thinking. And he has the Democratic State of Alabama at his back. But in general both parties say they mean to give to the Philippine Islands self-government as soon as they are ready for it, and I do not see that one party goes any further than the other party in this respect. I do not myself like this phrase, "give self-government" or "give good government." I think the right to self-government, as the fathers said in the Declaration of Independence, is a thing that they are entitled to by the laws of nature and of nature's God. But the phrase is Mr. Bryan's and the phrase is the phrase of the Democratic platform, and not mine.

The Democratic platform gives no assurance of immediate independence. It is to come after, according to their promise, a stable form of government established by us. Now, Mr. Bryan in his speech of acceptance says not even that he will do that. He makes no suggestion of recalling our troops by executive power, or of letting the Filipinos alone, or of making them any promise by executive authority. He says he will call Congress together to do the things set forth in the Democratic platform. Now, he knows perfectly well, if he knows anything, that the Congress he will call together will do nothing beyond what the President has declared his purpose to have done. He knows very well the vast strength of imperialism among his Democratic supporters which will render the hope of accomplishing any such

purpose utterly idle and delusive. Why, the Democrats in New York have nominated for governor this very autumn Mr. Stanchfield, one of the most zealous and extreme imperialists in the country. He, perhaps, will not outact Governor Roosevelt; but so far in the matter of imperialism he has outtalked him. Mr. Morgan of Alabama, who will be chairman of the committee on foreign relations if the Democrats get the Senate, his colleague, Senator Pettus, who will be chairman of the judiciary if the Democrats get the Senate, are among the most zealous and thorough-going supporters of the purpose to maintain our authority over the people of the Philippine Islands. Of the nineteen followers of Mr. Bryan who voted for the ratification of the treaty about half were imperialists upon conviction.

So when Mr. Bryan says he is going to call Congress together and recommend them to carry out the Democratic platform he may as well call spirits from the vast deep. He may be more fortunate than Glendower, and the spirits may come when he doth call them. But the spirits will not do the bidding of the magician. The magician will have to do the bidding of the spirits.

There are undoubtedly many persons in the Republican party who have been carried away by the dream of empire. They mean, I have no doubt, to hold on to the Philippine Islands forever. But they do not constitute the strength of the party. They do not, in my judgment, express its purpose, and they do not constitute the strength of the American people. The Republican party in its platform, State and national, promises to give these people self-government when they are ready for it and as fast as they are ready for it.

I have an abiding confidence that these pledges are to be kept. The Republican party has kept its pledge as to Cuba,

and it will do sooner or later to the Filipinos what it has done to the Cubans. We have been in the dark as to the facts regarding this distant and strange Oriental people. But we shall know them after peace has been declared. Their leaders will come over here to tell their story to the American people, and they can go from one end of the country to the other and no man will hurt a hair of their heads, unless it be such ruffians as those who attacked Governor Roosevelt. If it prove to be true, as I think it will, that they are a civilized people, able to live, governing themselves in orderly village communities, capable of self-defence, seeking a national life like Japan, better than many countries south of us on the American continent, and they then desire their independence, do you suppose any man or any party could put forth the power of this republic to interfere with it and live? Great Britain, with all her power, all her aristocracy, and all her traditions of empire, would not venture for an hour to deny independence to Canada or Australia if they wanted it. She would not deny it in Ireland if Ireland were not at her door. And the people of the United States will never repeat the experiment of Ireland anywhere.

Which party can you trust in this matter—the party that has done everything that has been accomplished for liberty in the past, or the party which has resisted everything that has been accomplished for liberty; the party that sustained slavery, or the party that abolished it; the party that made war upon the Union, or the party that put down the Rebellion; the party that adopted the three great amendments which made every slave a free man and every free man a citizen and every citizen a voter, or the party that filibustered for days and nights against the adoption of the thirteenth amendment, which was carried by a single vote? Will you

trust the party that governs Massachusetts, or the party that governs New York City and Mississippi?

The author of the Democratic platform of Kansas City, or at any rate the gentleman by whose lips it was reported to the convention, uttered in my hearing these sentences last winter on the floor of the Senate. Let me read them:

"We took the government away. We stuffed ballot-boxes. We shot them. We are not ashamed of it. The senator from Wisconsin would have done the same thing. I see it in his right eye now. He would have done it. With that system—force, tissue ballots, etc.—we got tired ourselves. So we called a constitutional convention, and we eliminated, as I said, all of the colored people whom we could under the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments."

When the anti-imperialist sees the smiling countenance of my honorable friend, Governor Boutwell, at one end of the Democratic line and hears this thing from Mr. Tillman at the other, I should think he would find himself something in the condition of the two tramps I once heard of who approached a farm-house in the country, and were encountered by a large bulldog. "Come on, Jim," says one of them, "don't you see he is wagging his tail?" "Yes," says the other, "but don't you hear him growl? I don't know which end of him to trust."

Mr. Tillman, of South Carolina, is a brave and outspoken gentleman. He is the rising leader of the Democracy of the Solid South. If Mr. Bryan be elected there will be no man in the country, save perhaps Mr. Croker, of New York, who will be more powerful in the councils of the administration. Five Democratic States with marvellous ingenuity have just disfranchised their colored voters. Others are preparing to follow. If the thing goes on, before the end of the next presidential term ten million American citizens, to

become within half a century thirty-five million American citizens, will be disfranchised by these Democratic frauds. Not only will they be disfranchised, but you are to play the game of politics hereafter with the Democratic party which will use these loaded dice. Fifty or sixty Democratic representatives will vote on every question in which you have an interest—free silver, socialism, free trade—representing not numbers, but only fraud and usurpation.

We have two defences under the constitution. One is that if people of any race or class are deprived of the right to vote in any State, it becomes the duty of Congress to diminish the representation of that State in that proportion —a duty which every man knows will never be performed if Mr. Bryan and the Democratic party come into power. Why, he was asked the other day what he thought of North Carolina. And he answered that if you would read the Sulu treaty you would be so ashamed that you could not think about North Carolina.

The other defence is in the supreme court of the United States, the majority of whom are old men. Against that court, the great bulwark and safety of our rights, Mr. Bryan and the Democratic party have already declared war. But if there be no war, the majority of that court are old men, and it is not unlikely that its complexion may be changed within the coming four years.

The Republican party in its long and splendid history has made one mistake. That mistake, so far as it affects the past, cannot be remedied. It would have done no harm but for Mr. Bryan. So far as it affects the future, it will be remedied by the Republican party, or it will not be remedied at all. I believe that the Philippine Islands belong of right to the Philippine people; that they have a right, having

thrown off their old government, to institute for themselves a new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them and not to us shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. But I do not believe it wise, while claiming this right, for that Oriental people of eight or ten millions to stand with a party or with a candidate who denies the same right to ten million Americans at home. I do not propose to enfranchise ten million Filipinos while I disfranchise ten million Americans.

I believe Aguinaldo and Mabini entitled to self-government. I believe also that Booker Washington and Robert Small are entitled to self-government. I have little respect for the declaration of love of liberty of the men who stand with one heel on the forehead of Booker Washington of Alabama, and the other on the forehead of Robert Small of South Carolina, and wave the American flag over Aguinaldo and Mabini.

Now, fellow citizens, I do not know whether these things seem important to our friends who think of leaving the Republican party. This is no waving of the bloody shirt. It is no tale of individual outrage caused by what is left of the spirit of slavery or the passion of the Civil War. It is a deliberate attempt, avowed, undisguised, to overthrow the American constitution so far as it secures to ten million Americans on our own soil political equality. It is an attempt to overthrow the principle that government at home rests on the consent of the governed. For myself, I distrust such statesmanship. I abhor such political morality, and I decline to follow such leadership.

You are not helping the cause of anti-imperialism by going into partnership with Bryanism. You cannot mix tyranny,

dishonor, broken faith, anarchy, license in one cup, and have constitutional liberty the result of the mixture. If the firm of Bryan, Croker, Altgeld, Boutwell, Tillman, and Schurz do business at the old Democratic stand, they will transact the old Democratic business. The new partners are not to have a controlling interest. They will not contribute much of the capital. They will not be authorized to sign the name of the firm.

When the new administration comes in, to whom, do you think, it will listen? Will it listen to Mr. Morgan and Mr. Pettus, with Alabama behind them? Will it listen to Mr. McEnery, with Louisiana behind him? Will it listen to Mr. McLaurin? All these men are imperialists. They are as thoroughly intrenched in the political leadership of their States as ever was Daniel Webster in Massachusetts. Or will it listen to Mr. Schurz or Mr. Boutwell, with nothing behind him? Democratic South Carolina will speak with a divided voice as to liberty in the Philippine Islands. It will speak with a united voice as to the disfranchisement of ten million Americans at home. Mississippi will speak with a divided voice about Aguinaldo or Mabini; but there will be no difference of opinion as to Booker Washington or Robert Small. There will be behind that administration a Solid South, intent on disfranchising the negro, in earnest and meaning business. There will be behind it the Populist, the Anarchist, and Socialist of the great cities, in earnest and meaning business. There will be behind it Richard Croker and Tammany Hall, intent on spoils and jobs and patronage, in earnest and meaning business. All these must be listened to, and will be. Mr. Boutwell and Mr. Schurz and the anti-imperialists will have served their purpose. They will have nothing more to do. They have made good bait. The Demo-

cratic fisherman will have done with them and will throw them back, stiff and half dead, into the sea.

I have little disposition to submit to lectures, public or private, from gentlemen who, whatever they profess, are practical allies of the great movement to establish a peonage on American soil of which ten million American citizens are to be the victims.

We cannot shut our eyes to the changes that have been wrought in our time. Until lately this country stood to Asia and Africa as the earth to the other planets in the solar system. We knew they were there. But we exerted and desired no influence upon them. They had little influence upon us. We sent them a few missionaries. But they concerned themselves with their relations to the next world and not to this. To-day the whole earth is but a neighborhood. The events that happen in Asia, half way around the earth, are printed in the Boston papers twelve hours before they happen. Now these new relations are to be hereafter constant, intimate, supreme. I for one prefer to trust the important questions they are bringing upon us to the men who have so far dealt with the Chinese problem rather than to Mr. Bryan. Do not misunderstand me. Let us not in our new relations abandon our old principles. Conditions on this planet may have changed. But the stars have not changed their places in the heavens. The Declaration of Independence must still be our guide. The eternal laws of justice and righteousness and liberty are still to govern the relations of citizens to one another, and the relations of nations to one another. The eternal law of righteousness which we learned in the beginning from Asia must still guide us in dealing with the east, from which it came.

EULOGY OF M'KINLEY

DELIVERED AT WORCESTER, MASS., SEPTEMBER 19, 1901

THE voice and love of sorrow, to-day, is not that which cometh from the lips. Since the tidings came from the dwelling at whose door all mankind were listening, silence, the inward prayer, the quivering lip, the tears of women and of bearded men, have been the token of an affection which no other man left alive has inspired.

This is the third time within the memory of men not yet old that the head of the Republic has been stricken down in his high place by the hand of an assassin. Each of them was a man of the people. Each had risen by the sheer force of excellence from the humblest beginning. The life of each was a proof that in one great country men rise from the lowest to the highest places by virtue only of the upward gravitation of a manly character.

The stroke every time was at liberty, not at despotism. In the great strife which has been going on through all ages between equality and despotism, between manhood and privilege, between justice and oppression, these men were on the side of humanity. The lives stricken down had been spent in the service of no selfish ambition, no personal ends, but only that the very men who smote them might be better off. If there were any men on earth who ought to have prayed and striven that the life of Abraham Lincoln, or James A. Garfield, or William McKinley should be spared, and that their noble and lofty aspirations might be fulfilled, it was the men who struck them down.

Booth fancied that he was avenging the wrongs of the

South. Yet the whole South thinks now that she never had a truer or wiser friend than Abraham Lincoln.

The man who murdered McKinley was a Pole. He was of a race whose country had been parted among despots, as wild beasts devour their prey, but who had found here in our Republic the door open to freedom and equality, to a comfort and prosperity, which William McKinley had done more than any other to create. Why! at the moment of the crime, this man, a humble citizen, was welcomed to join hands as an equal with the chief magistrate of the country. It could have happened nowhere else on earth. This was a blow struck at the principle of human equality itself, as it was recognized by the leader of a great people on a great public occasion.

If there be anything of reason or of hope in the wild delirium of these conspirators, crimes like this are the sure way to baffle it. The anarchist, whatever may be his dream, can only bring us back to the beast again. When his doctrine shall prevail, man must wander once more like the orang-outang in the forest.

The folly of this action, the supreme and utter folly of it, would move us to laughter if it were not for the terrible tragedy. What has ever been or ever can be gained by these crimes? Eight strong men, one of them chosen by the same people who chose McKinley, the others chosen by him as his honored and trusted counsellors, were ready in turn to take the helm of state. The anarchist must slay seventy-five million Americans before he can overthrow the Republic, or the doctrine on which the Republic is builded.

We shall, I hope, in due time, soberly, when the tempest of grief has passed by, find means for additional security against the repetition of a crime like this. We shall go

as far as we can without sacrificing constitutional liberty, to repress the utterance of doctrine which in effect is nothing but counselling murder.

We shall also, I hope, learn to moderate the bitterness of political strife and to avoid the savage attack on the motive and character of men who are charged by the people with public responsibilities in high places. This fault, while I think it is already disappearing from ordinary political and sectional controversy, seems to linger still among our scholars and men of letters.

Is it strange that a Pole, bred to regard government as synonymous with crime, should have failed to learn the lesson, even in our free schools and free streets, that here government and human liberty and human welfare are inseparable, when there comes from the college hall, from the scholar's desk, and sometimes from the press and pulpit, the constant preaching that the country is base, and that the rulers of the Republic are corrupt and wicked? Good men, and patriotic men, are not, all of them, free from censure in this matter.

The things about which good men differ most sharply and angrily in our day are those which concern the application of the simplest principles of justice and righteousness to the conduct of states, as in former times men differed about the simplest principles of religious faith. In such case, the man who is most positive and most intolerant is the surest to be wrong.

The moral is, not that we should abate our zeal for justice and righteousness or our condemnation of wrong, but only that we should abate in the severity of our judgment of the motives of men from whom we differ.

These bitter and uncharitable critics, especially if they

speak from places which seem to give them authority, if their arrows be feathered with the graces of speech and of culture, also serve to arm and equip other men more dangerous than themselves. It is they who are behind the anarchist. It is they who excited the crazed brain of Guiteau, and shotted the weapon of Czolgosz.

But this hour is devoted to the memory of the dead President. I can only repeat now what I thank God it was given me to say while he lived, that he was our best-beloved President, save only Washington and Lincoln.

The tributes to the excellence of President McKinley do not come from personal or political friendship alone, and are not born of a present sorrow. Men who differed from him in opinion most widely on the great questions of the time, loved and honored him if only they knew him.

About three months ago I sat by an eminent Democrat, holding high office, of large influence in the public life of the country, earnest and zealous in his dislike of every political principle and measure of Mr. McKinley. He poured out his heart to me in a warm and affectionate declaration of regard for him. He spoke of his sincerity, his simplicity, his frankness, his modesty, his never-failing kindness and courtesy, and his great power as a leader of men.

Congressman McCall, who had differed from him most sharply on the greatest single measure of his administration, declares that "one of God's finest gentlemen has gone out of the world; one who in every part of his nature was as sweet and gentle as a child."

The veteran Senator Vest, of Missouri, who never failed to speak out frankly what was in his heart from any restraint of time or occasion, most pugnacious of political champion, Confederate, Southerner, free-trader, advocate of

state's rights, and of free silver, zealous opponent of the course of the administration as to the Philippine Islands, has paid a like tribute to his gentleness, his courtesy, and to his ability as a great leader of men. These are but types of the opinion of all men who knew the President.

The belief that President McKinley lacked intellectual power, or firmness, or strength of will, long ago disappeared, as his countrymen came to know him better. I do not believe there is a stronger personal force left on earth than that veiled by his quiet and gracious manner. Those who denied his absolute integrity and patriotism and desire for justice and liberty, will as surely change their minds.

Is there in history or in poetry the story of a knightlier chivalry than that of this man's devotion to the wife of his youth. In his home, the foremost household of the Republic has been the foremost example of that household virtue, the love of husband and wife, which is the one best thing man has gained so far in the uncounted years of his evolution.

He was a man of simple, and quiet courage, as became an American citizen and a veteran soldier. He might have avoided this fate. There were never wanting counsellors enough to bid him surround himself with guards, or shut out the people from his presence, or keep away from the places where they were gathered. But he would take no heed of such warning. He liked better to trust himself to the affections of his countrymen, to their knowledge that he deserved their love, that he merited well of them, and cared for nothing but their welfare. He was thinking ever of their safety, not of his own. He would rather win his enemies than intimidate them. He ever seemed to be saying:

"Love thyself last; cherish those hearts that hate thee
Corruption wins no more than honesty;
Still in thy righ hand carry gentle Peace.
To silence envious tongues. Be just and fear not;
Let all the ends thou aim'st at, be thy Country's,
Thy God's, and Truth's, then if thou fal'st,
Thou fal'st a blessed martyr."

The presence of death reveals the inmost soul. It assures the sincerity of the man as no oath or penal sanction can do it.

"He nothing common did, or mean,
Upon that memorable scene."

"The bed of death," as our great orator said, "brings every man to his individuality. A man may live as a hero, a statesman, or a conqueror, but he must die as a man." Surely courage, and love, and faith, are still the great attributes of a noble and manly character. What pride do we all feel in our beloved country, what pride in the Republic which calls such men to her high places, when we hear the simple story of what he said in those moments of supreme trial, when he lay, awaiting the result, and at last, when he knew his fate. The sublime pity for the wretch who had murdered him: "Don't hurt the man." The cheerful counsel to his wife: "We must bear up; it will be better for both of us." The murmured verse of the beautiful hymn:

"Nearer, my God, to Thee,
Nearer to Thee.
E'en though it be a cross
That raiseth me.
Still all my song shall be,
Nearer, my God, to Thee,
Nearer, to Thee."

"Good-bye, all, good-bye. It is God's way. His will be done."

Ah! my friends, if we have given to us in this world a divine pattern, and are commanded to imitate the divine example, surely there can be no presumption or blasphemy in saying that men have sometimes attained unto it. If the spirit of him who said in his dying hour: "Father, for-

give them, for they know not what they do," who, if the cup were not to pass from him, submitted his own will to his Father's, and commended, in dying, his spirit to the spirit that made it, ever hath been manifested in the conduct of any human being, it was found in that of McKinley.

We will place William McKinley in our Valhalla. He was a favorite of the people. He was a leader of men. He knew the people that he ruled. His power was of the sunshine; not of the tempest. Whether the great measures with which his name is inseparably connected were wise or unwise, righteous or unrighteous, must be settled by later and more deliberate verdict than ours. History will declare, I think, that he believed them right and wise, that he loved his countrymen, and loved liberty.

But in this hour, as we stand by the grave of our beloved, we are thinking of the simple household virtues which make the whole world kin, and which, after all, are the strength of the Republic and the foundation of all human society. The pure family life, the love of one man for one woman, the sincere friendship, the unfailing kindness, the open heart, the modest bearing, the sweet and gracious demeanor —it is these of which our hearts are full. It is these that cling to the good man's memory here and hereafter.

Peace to his ashes. The benedictions of millions of Americans are falling now upon his new-made grave like dew.

"Hush! the Dead March wails in the people's ears,
The dark crowd moves, and there are sobs and tears;
The black earth yawns; the mortal disappears;
Ashes to ashes, dust to dust;
He hath gone who seemed so great.—
Gone; but nothing can bereave him
Of the force he made his own
Being here; and we believe him
Something far advanced in state,
And that he wears a truer crown
Than any wreath that man can weave him.
Speak no more of his renown,
Lay your earthly fancies down,
And in the sweet earth's bosom leave him,
God, accept him; Christ, receive him."

MAJOR-GENERAL LOGAN

JOHN ALEXANDER LOGAN, an American soldier and politician, was born in Jackson Co., Ill., Feb. 9, 1826, and died at Washington, D. C., Dec. 26, 1886. He was educated in the common schools and at Shiloh College. During the Mexican War he served as lieutenant in an Illinois regiment, and at its close studied law and in 1849 was elected clerk of Jackson County, in his native State. Still continuing the study of law, he entered Louisville University and in 1851 was admitted to the Bar. He sat in the State legislature from 1852 to 1857, and in 1858 entered Congress. In 1861, he resigned his seat in order to join the Federal army, where he served with distinction until the close of the Civil War, when he reached the rank of major-general. He returned to Congress in 1866 and was soon after active in the impeachment proceedings against President Johnson. In 1871, he was elected to the United States Senate, and was reëlected in 1878 and 1885. In 1884, he was the Republican candidate for the Vice-presidency. He was a brilliant though florid speaker and made a number of important addresses in Congress, including a vindication of President Grant from the attack of Sumner in 1872; on the power of government to enforce the United States laws, in 1879; and in the Fitz John Porter case, in 1880. Logan's personal appearance was striking, and as a soldier he had great and fearless courage. His published works embrace "The Great Conspiracy" (1886), and "The Volunteer Soldier of America" (1887). See Mr. Dawson's biography, entitled "Life and Services of John A. Logan," Chicago (1887).

ON THE INDEPENDENCE OF CUBA

SPEECH DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, JUNE 15, 1870

CUBA, with its broad acres, its beautiful vales, its rich soil, its countless resources, is expected to pass into the hands of a few men, to whom it will be a mine of wealth.

Let me appeal to this House not to allow this scheme to be carried out. While this brave band of patriots are wrestling for the dearest rights known to man, the right of self-government, should we hesitate to make the simple and single declaration which will save them from being robbed and

murdered day after day? Can we, with all our boasted principles of liberty, justice, and equality to all men, stand tamely by and witness these people, within sight of our own shores, following the example which we have furnished, hanged, drawn, and quartered, with most atrocious brutality, without the protection of any flag on God's earth, and not raise our voice against the inhumanity so much as to declare that there is a contest — a war? This poor boon is all they ask, and in my judgment it can be denied to them by none but heartless men.

In what I am saying I have no contest with the President. I am his friend as I ever have been. I have no contest with Mr. Fish or with anybody else. I have no warfare with those who differ from me; they have their opinions, and I am entitled to mine. I look upon General Grant as a good man, but I think that on this question he is deceived. I think if he had not been fishing up in Pennsylvania when this message was written he would not have signed it so readily as he did. I do not think it was necessary to go to Pennsylvania for more fish. We have all we need here. I think it is a message not well considered, and I do not believe he examined it well before signing it. It does not state the case correctly; and I am sorry to see him put upon the record as misstating the law.

I entertain the highest respect for the President and his administration, and I do not purpose that any man shall put me in a false position. I do not intend to allow myself to be placed in antagonism with the administration, nor do I intend to allow any man or set of men to howl upon my heels that I do not support the administration and am therefore to be denounced.

No, sir, I am supporting the administration; I am main-

taining the former views of the President, and I think his former views on this question are better than his later ones. Once we held like opinions on this question of Cuban belligerency, and I see no reason on my part to change those opinions. If he has changed his I find no fault with him. But I prefer to stand by his former judgment, formed when he was cool, when he deliberated for himself, when he had not men around him to bother and annoy him with their peculiar and interested notions; when he thought for himself and wrote for himself. I believed then as he believed. I believe now as I believed then, and I do not propose to change.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I think the Republicans on this side of the House owe it to themselves to take the side of the oppressed. I wish to say to the Republican party as the friend of this administration, that the most friendly act toward this present administration is to let this message go before the country, so far as the opinion of the President is concerned. Do not let us make any war upon it. Let it appear to the country that we differ from the President in this matter honestly. Let us as Republicans, notwithstanding the message, declare that we will accord to these people all the rights of civilized warfare. Let us do this, and I have no doubt the country will say, "Well done, good and faithful servants."

If your action be taken in the interest of freedom, if you shall help the oppressed and act on the side of liberty and humanity, if in a contest between despotism and a people struggling bravely for independence you give the preference to the latter, if in doing this you should happen to commit error, and that error should happen to be on the side of humanity and liberty, there is no country in the world which can or ought to find fault with you. In questions tried be-

fore our juries they are always instructed to give the benefit of the doubt in favor of the prisoner.

In this case, if there be any doubt, I implore the House let it be in favor of Cuba. By taking the side of Cuba against Spain we are true to the instincts of our organization in sympathizing with a people suffering under oppression. It will show that you do not sympathize with despotism. It will show that now, as heretofore, the Republican party sympathize with struggling humanity seeking freedom and independence.

Your record is clear in the past. We have had too much sympathy of late years for great monarchies. Indeed there seems to be too great a disposition in some quarters to sympathize too much with monarchy, and to sympathize too much with the exercise of arbitrary power in oppression to justice and liberty. And why is this? Because these are great governments and controlled by the great ones. These monarchical governments have mighty fleets floating upon the high seas. They have ministers residing in our midst. They have pleasant men who can afford to give splendid entertainments. They are genial men at the dinner table, and facile in the artful manœuvres of diplomacy. They are what was known in the time of Louis XIV and the "Fronde," as *honnéte* men. They have all the appliances for making good their cause when they wish to crush out people who are struggling for independence. They are heard, and they have official access to our government, which is denied to all others.

But never let it be said that the Republican party sympathizes with the oppressors against the oppressed. I warn you that no statesman and no political party ever had a long life in this country which did not love liberty, no matter from

where the cry came, whether from South America, or from Mexico, or from our own slaves when they were held in bondage. When the South American States raised the standard of rebellion against Spain we sympathized with them; when Mexico did the same thing, she also had our sympathy; and gentlemen should not forget that it was the Republican party that gave freedom and franchise to four million slaves in our own midst. Let gentlemen carefully examine the history of this country before they cast these people off and consign them to the merciless horrors of a Spanish inquisition. Read and mark well that no party ever succeeded which refused justice or sympathized with the oppressor against the oppressed.

If the party which abolished slavery; the party which, in the spirit of justice, gave citizenship to those who were freed by it; the party which has always held itself to be the great exponent of free principles and justice to all, of liberty and humanity — if that party shall now turn its back upon its former glorious record and lend moral support and material aid to Spain in its cruel crusade against the revolutionists of Cuba it must inevitably go down under the indignation of the people who now make up its formidable numbers. If, however, we shall give the aid which is asked to encourage and sustain struggling humanity; if we shall help these Cubans fighting for independence; if we shall do that which every dictate of justice demands of us in the emergency; in a word, if we are true to the doctrines and principles we have enunciated, then the Republican party will live to ride safely for many years to come through the boisterous storms of politics, and will override in the future, as it has done in the past, all such theories as secession and rebellion in our government, and all that is antagonistic to the universal liberty

of man. It will overcome every obstacle that stands in the way of the great advance, the great civilization, the great enlightenment, the great Christianity of this age. And whenever you fail to allow it to march onward in the path in which it has started, and undertake to impede it in its efforts to press onward, you strike a blow at your own party, your own interests and safety.

For I tell you that whenever you halt, or shirk the responsibilities of the hour as Republicans the Democrats will overtake you.

The Democrats were once formidable so far as the questions of the day were concerned. They are far behind you now; and I say to you, Republicans, do not let the Democrats beat you to-day as regards the position they take in favor of liberty. If you do, the country will perhaps give you reason to learn after awhile that you have forgotten the trust that was reposed in you, and have failed to perform the duty with which it has honored you, but allowed it to slip from your hands to be discharged by others.

For these things you must answer before the great forum of the people; and if they adjudge you recreant in the support of the principles reposed in you, and false to the requirements of the present, they will not find you worthy of confidence in the future.

VINDICATION OF PRESIDENT GRANT

[Delivered in the Senate of the United States, June 3, 1872, in reply to Senator Sumner's attack on President Grant's administration.]

MR. PRESIDENT,—At the close of the war in 1865, on the 22d day of May, when the armies were marshalled here in the streets of Washington, as we passed by this Senate Chamber and marched down Pennsylvania Avenue, with the officers at the head of their columns, I remember to have read on the outer walls this motto: "There is one debt this country can never repay, and that is the debt of gratitude it owes to the soldiers who have preserved the Union."

Little did I think, then, sir, that within seven years afterward I should hear an assault like this upon the leader of that army within these very walls.

Mr. President, is that debt of gratitude so soon forgotten? Shall the fair fame and reputation of the man who led those armies be trampled in the dust by one man, who claims so egotistically here that he organized the party which made the war against the oligarchy of slavery?

But, sir, that attempt has been witnessed here, to our great sorrow. The eloquence, the power, the education, all that belong to the senator from Massachusetts has been brought to bear, not in consonance with that motto, not in keeping alive in the bosoms of the people of the United States that feeling of gratitude to the men who saved the country, but of ingratitude; and worse, of want of decent respect which should be shown either for the memory of the dead or for the character of the living.

The next division of the speech of the senator from Massachusetts is in reference to "presidential pretension," and in discussing presidential pretensions he draws himself to his full height and exclaims, "Upon what meat doth our Cæsar feed that he assumes so much?" That is the language of the senator from Massachusetts. I might reply to the Senator and ask:

> "Upon what meat doth this our Cæsar feed,
> That he is grown so great?"

Where did he acquire the charter or the right to stand in this Senate Chamber and perpetrate slander upon slander, vile and malignant, against the best men of our land? I ask the senator from Massachusetts, where does he acquire that title; where does he obtain that right belonging to himself alone? A right, however, that no one will covet.

The senator says the President of the United States violates the constitution, violates law, violates every principle that ought to govern the chief magistrate of a great nation. I should like to ask a question of the senator if he were here, and I am sorry that he is not. "The wicked flee when no man pursueth." It certainly is not that he is in terror of anything that may be said; but why is it? Is he afraid that the ghost of his own slanders will come back to haunt him even here as well as in his chamber at night? Will it haunt him as the ghost of San Domingo haunts him every day? And this seems to follow him like the ghost of Banquo, making its appearance when he leasts expects it.

Now, sir, in what has the President of the United States violated the constitution? If the President has violated the constitution, it is the duty of the House of Representatives to prefer charges against him, and of the Senate to try him

for that offense. In what has the President violated the law? I ask the senator from Massachusetts to tell this country in what has he violated the constitution, in what particular? It may be that all of us have not construed the law alike. It is possible to construe the constitution differently in certain respects. The President may have differed from us at times in reference to a construction of the law or of the constitution, but if he has I have no knowledge of it. But even if that were the case it would be no violation of the constitution or of the law in the sense in which the word "violation" is used by the senator.

But the senator says the presidency is made "a plaything and a perquisite." I read from his printed speech:

"To appreciate his peculiar character as a civilian it is important to know his triumphs as a soldier, for the one is the natural complement of the other. The successful soldier is rarely changed to the successful civilian. There seems an incompatibility between the two, modified by the extent to which one has been allowed to exclude the other. One always a soldier cannot late in life become a statesman; one always a civilian cannot late in life become a soldier. Education and experience are needed for each."

This I read from page 6 of the pamphlet which was published prior to the publication of the speech in the "Globe." The senator says that the camp is not the training school for a statesman, that a different training must be given a man for the purpose of making him a statesman from that which is required to make him a soldier. I shall not appeal to the senator from Massachusetts on that point; but I do appeal to the people of this country. I appeal to the million and a half of soldiers who are living, and if I could reach the ears of the dead I would appeal to the three hundred thousand

that lie beneath the sod who fell fighting, that their country might live, to know why a soldier cannot be a statesman and why a statesman cannot be a soldier.

I am in favor of education; but I am in favor of that education which is compatible with common sense, which gives judgment to deal with men and things.

Now I want to compare the statesman of Massachusetts with the poor little dwarfed soldier of Illinois who is now President of the United States. According to the senator from Massachusetts he is ignorant; according to the senator from Massachusetts he is a mere soldier. Before the war he followed the occupation of a tanner and received but a small pittance for his labor, and during the war he served his country in the camp and in the field and did not have the opportunity to fit himself for President of the United States. That was the language of the senator. In other words no man who has ever worked at the tanner's trade should be President; no man who was ever a shoemaker should be a senator; no man who was ever a carpenter should be a legislator; no man who was ever a farmer should aspire to position or honors from the people.

In other words, the laboring classes are, according to his theory, the "mudsills of society," but if those like the senator himself are permitted to occupy positions in this land, or can be President or Vice-President, how will it be with the poor tanners, the poor carpenters, the poor farmers, the poor printers, the poor everybodies? None of these are fit to be President or Vice-President, or senators, or members of Congress, or governors; but they are, according to the theory of the senator from Massachusetts, only fit to make food for gunpowder as mere soldiers.

Now let us see what has been accomplished by this edu-

cated, crammed senator from Massachusetts, who has been in the Senate Chamber I believe for nearly twenty-four years.

I believe I state a fact when I say that the records of Congress will not show a measure that was ever originated by himself which passed without amendment. I believe I state a fact when I say that the records and the history of this country show fewer acts of Congress on the statute-book to-day originated by him than by any other man who ever claimed to be a statesman.

His statesmanship has consisted for twenty-four years in high-sounding phrases, in long-drawn-out sentences, in paragraphs taken from books of an ancient character, as an instance of which we find in his speech pages on "nepotism" taken almost bodily from a biographical dictionary of the popes and rulers of Rome. There is wherein his greatness consists. It consists in paragraphing, in plagiarism, in declamation, and in egotism.

He has accomplished much in his own estimation. He is writing a history, or some one is for him, of himself. I have been reading it latterly. I find in it many of his speeches. If he were here now I would, as one who has been his steadfast friend, beg of him to exclude from that history of himself this last speech. It is a pleasant history to read so far as it has been written, but I say to him its pages will be marred by this malignant philippic against President Grant, filled as it is with venom and gall from one end to the other.

Let us compare the tanner President with the magnificently educated senator from Massachusetts, who has accomplished so much, and see how he will stand the comparison. The senator from Massachusetts has lived his life without putting upon the records of his country a solitary act of his own origi-

nation without amendment by other men having more understanding than himself in reference to men and things.

General Grant, the President of the United States, a tanner from Galena, has done what? He has written his history in deeds which will live. So long as pens are dipped in ink, so long as men read, and so long as history is written, the history of that man is worth something. It is valuable; it is not a history of glittering generalities and declamation in speeches, but it is a history of great deeds and great things accomplished for his country.

In 1861, soon after the breaking out of the war, we found this President of the United States the commander of a small force on the banks of the Mississippi River. On the banks of the Potomac was a large and well-organized army and the sounds were heard throughout the land of battle from day to day. When the battle was over there was but one thing that trembled along the wires and that was the army of the United States had again been defeated. Defeat upon defeat followed; and never did you find your armies successful until the fame of this little man was heralded from one end of the land to the other. Every battle that he engaged in he won.

I was with him in his first battle on the banks of the Mississippi River, the battle of Belmont, and travelled through with the western armies in the western campaign. If you will allow me—and I refer to myself only to show the facts within my knowledge—I hesitate not to say that the man who says he is ungenerous does not know him. The man who says he is not a man of ability does not know him. The man who says he ever depreciated the character or reputation of another does not know him. In all his acts he was generous to a fault with his comrades and no report did he ever make

in which he did not give full credit to every man in the army who had done his duty, as can be testified to by every man who served under him.

I have seen him time and again in the hottest and thickest of battle, sitting coolly and calmly, without parting his lips or lisping a word, watching the different manœuvers of the troops and the management on either side to see how the battle was going. He was not a man of many words. He gave his orders quietly and saw that they were executed.

He was brought to the Army of the Potomac. He made a success; he won the battle; victory perched upon our banners; we succeeded; slavery was abolished and our country saved. After four years passed the people of the United States made him President. He is now assaulted because of his ignorance, because he was a soldier, and charged with having done nothing during his life to be remembered. Look at his administration and see if he shows no ability. How does it compare with others? I have not indorsed everything he has done nor do I believe a friend is required to indorse everything that another does in order to be his friend; but take his administration generally so far as the material part is concerned and so far as that which does substantial good to the country and I say it has been a great success.

[After submitting a tabular statement of the expenses of this administration, as compared with preceding ones, the senator continued:]

Now, Mr. President, I desire to draw the attention of the Senate but a short time to some of the specific charges that have been made by the senator from Massachusetts. He says the President is guilty of nepotism, and, as I said, several pages of his speech are copied for the purpose of showing first the origin of the word. It is necessary for a learned man

when he discourses upon a word to show its origin. We then find the origin of the word "nepotism." He shows that it is of Italian origin and then goes on through the history of the popes, the history of those who once ruled Rome, to show how many nephews and kinsfolk they appointed to office.

Then he comes down to President Grant and he charges the President of the United States with having usurped the power of the presidential office and made it a mere perquisite and appointed to office his kinsfolk and for that reason he ought not to be recognized as a suitable candidate for President again.

Now, I want to put this question to the country. I admit that he has appointed some of his relatives to office; but I want the senator from Massachusetts to point his finger to the law that forbids that being done. If it is not in violation of law is there anything that shows that it is in violation of good morals? It seems to me for a man to take care of his own household is not in violation of good morals. It certainly is in violation of no law; and I believe we are told that "he who provideth not for his own household hath denied the faith and is worse than an infidel."

The senator does not believe there is anything like wit or genius or common sense in the President. I will repeat a remark that I heard that he had made once, that perhaps has aroused the anger of the senator to some extent. A gentleman once said to the President that the senator from Massachusetts did not altogether believe the Bible. The President quietly said there was a reason for that, and that was that he did not write it himself.

Now, if it is not any violation of the law to appoint your relatives to office, if it is not in violation of any moral prin-

ciples, then I ask the senator from Massachusetts why this arraignment?

President Grant has a few relatives in office, but I never heard their honesty or ability questioned. I have a personal knowledge of some of these appointments. One is a mail agent on a railroad, at a thousand or twelve hundred dollars a year. One, Captain Ross, is a clerk in the third auditor's office. Captain Ross was the bearer of letters as mail messenger to my headquarters frequently during the war. He is a cousin of President Grant.

I went myself to the third auditor and asked that appointment, and he was appointed on my recommendation. It is charged that he was appointed because he is a relative of President Grant. The President knew nothing of it. I obtained the appointment myself.

Another one of his relatives was appointed to an office in a Territory. That has been paraded, too, all over the country that he was appointed, being a relative of President Grant.

I say to the Senate to-day that that man was appointed on the recommendation of gentlemen in Chicago, unknown to President Grant, and I went myself to the secretary of the interior and obtained the appointment for them. These things I state so far as they go because they are within my own knowledge and I am responsible for a portion of them myself; and the portion that I am responsible for it is my duty to state here and I do so state it.

This is paraded as almost a crime and therefore a man is not qualified to be President if he happens to have a father or relatives of any kind or if he happens to appoint a few of his relatives to office. These are a portion of the disqualifications of a President of the United States as prescribed by the

senator from Massachusetts! On this theory he might stand a better chance for President than on some other for aught I know. But if we only elect those who have no relatives I fear we would all claim to be poor orphans picked up on the street and thereby fitted for the office of President.

The next proposition of the senator is "gift-taking recompensed by official positions." I understand that in slander there is such a thing as innuendo and the senator from Massachusetts, by the innuendoes in his speech, would leave the impression on the country that President Grant has appointed men to office who made him gifts because of the fact that they did make gifts; in other words that the gift was the consideration for the office; therefore it was a corrupt bargain between the President and the office-taker.

So far as this intimation, insinuation, or innuendo is concerned, as any one may please to term it, I say, and take the responsibility, for the President of the United States, of denouncing it as false, and basely false. I do so for the reason that men who have been appointed to office were appointed to the two offices he mentioned because of their friendship to the President and their ability for the duties of the office and their fealty to the Republican party.

Let us see for a moment what this gift-taking is. Is it a crime for a man to receive gifts who has accomplished great deeds for his country? If it is let us examine the history of the country for a moment.

President Grant was a great chieftain. He had achieved great things for this government. He was a great commander of armies and forces. He was victorious in all his battles. When he came home from a victorious war, when States had been joined together that had before been severed and people were united that had been divided by war, the

people of the country felt grateful to him for his achievements and what he had done for them.

There was no way in which some of the wealthy men of this country believed they could show their gratitude to this great chieftain more appropriately, inasmuch as he was a man of small means, than by presenting him with that which would make him a comfortable income the rest of his life. They did it because they were actuated by generous feelings toward him, because they were loyal men, because they loved their country. Their country had been saved, their property had been saved, and they were willing to contribute to the benefit of this man. They did so.

In contributing to him they contributed to many others, as was said by the senator from Wisconsin. General Sherman and other generals that I could mention they contributed to because of their gratefulness to them for the service they had rendered the country. These contributions were made to him when he was a soldier; they were made to him when he was not President; they were given to him and given to him with good feeling, a generous feeling, a feeling of kindness, without any hesitancy on the part of the people who gave them, without the expectation of any remuneration or any reward that would be given to them by the President of the United States.

When General Sherman and General Grant received presents, men, women, and children all over the land thanked God that some persons were able to make them presents, because of the fact that they deserved it, the people being a grateful people.

I might go on and enumerate quite a number of men who have received gifts because of the gratitude of the people of their country for that which they had done. In fact if we

were to search the pages of ancient history for the purpose of finding something objectionable to apply to General Grant we would find that those who came home victorious received triumphs. It has been from time immemorial the case that men who achieved great things in war were received triumphantly by their people, some with gifts and presents, some in one way and some in another; and yet because the custom of the ancient world is followed down to the present day in the instance of President Grant it is brought against him here as a charge to show that he has used it as a consideration by giving office to persons not entitled thereto and therefore should not be again elected. Sir, you must show something more than the acquiescence in customs to turn this country against its greatest preserver among men.

Let me call the attention of the senator from Massachusetts to the fact that on our statute-books to-day we find the law that where naval officers capture prizes they are entitled to a division of the prizes. Why? To encourage the navy to capture prizes and be vigilant. Even here you make presents to naval officers by statute law for doing what? Just for performing their duty and nothing more.

But inasmuch as President Grant performed his duty without prize money, when he came home and the people bestowed upon him that which you bestow by law on naval officers the eloquent senator from Massachusetts arises in his place and charges corruption. How easy it is, sir, for us to find fault with others whom the people honor, lest we may never be placed in a position to be so highly favored ourselves.

After discussing the question of gift-taking he says that Mr. Stewart of New York was appointed secretary of the treasury, and he uses that for the purpose of showing the

ignorance of President Grant. He says that President Grant appointed Mr. Stewart; he does not say it was because Mr. Stewart had made him a present but that is the inference from his language, and at the same time he intimates the ignorance of the President to be so great that he did not know that an importing merchant could not be collector of the port of New York or secretary of the treasury. Now, I venture the assertion, and I think I can prove it from the record, that the senator's ignorance was so great at the same time that he did not know it was the law.

Mr. Lincoln, without a knowledge of the law, once tendered to an importing merchant an appointment to the office of collector of New York, and the merchant declined. It was an old statute, unknown to any one almost, unthought of for years. Mr. Stewart's name was sent to the Senate Chamber; in the message withdrawing the name of Mr. Stewart the President said, after mentioning the statute:

"In view of these provisions and the fact that Mr. Stewart has been unanimously confirmed by the Senate, I withdraw his name."

In view of what? In view of the fact that this statute exists and what other fact? The fact that he has been unanimously confirmed! Tell me how could he be unanimously confirmed in this Senate if there was a man in the Senate who knew that law existed at that time. It was not ignorance on the part of President Grant any more than it was on the part of the senator from Massachusetts, who voted for his confirmation with that statute on our books.

Yet he brings this forward as a fact to prove the ignorance of President Grant that he did not know that the law existed. We are all very wise after finding out something. If we only

find out that which others did not know before we are very anxious to tell the world of our great discovery and when it was ascertained. The senator did not tell the Senate that he found and discovered this statute. It is a wonder he did not say, "I arose and objected at the time, because it was in violation of law." He did not say that; but the statute was discovered by a clerk in the treasury department and not by the senator from Massachusetts or any other senator. Yet the senator from Massachusetts has achieved a great victory over President Grant in proving him to be ignorant of a statute that he knew nothing about himself.

The next suggestion of the senator is that President Grant quarrels with every one.

I know that President Grant is not a quarrelsome man. If he dislikes you he has nothing to do with you, but he does not quarrel.

In the army if an officer did not perform his duty he merely sent him a little order relieving him from duty and you have never heard General Grant lisp the reason up to this day why he relieved an officer in the army, and if you will go and ask him now why he relieved many officers during the war he will not tell you. He did it because he thought they had failed to perform their duty, but the reason he did not give, because perhaps he thought others might not see the fault as he did, and if he was mistaken he would let it work itself out without trying to injure the party any worse than by simply relieving him.

This was his mode of doing business in the army. I believe it is his manner to-day. If you dislike him and let him know it, that is enough; you hear nothing from him. If he dislikes you it is the same thing precisely, but he quarrels with no one.

Mr. President, the speech of the senator from Massachusetts, presented to the country at this particular time, is a very significant fact. I wish to call his attention to one point in it, but this suggestion I wish to make in order to show him how fatal to himself this speech may be.

He says that at the time he approached Secretary Stanton on his dying bed and the secretary repeated to him the reasons why he had no faith in General Grant's ability to administer the government, he said to the secretary, "It is too late; why did you not say this sooner?"

I repeat the same thing to Senator Sumner. Your speech, to perform the office you intended it, came too late. Hence I am led to the conclusion that it was not intended to perform the office which he says it was intended but it was to perform a very different office from that which he intimates he intended it should perform; that is to say, to advise the American people that President Grant was not qualified to exercise the functions of that office, and hence ought to be supplanted by some one else at Philadelphia. No, sir; if that was the object it comes too late. That being so, I have come to the conclusion that a man of so much wisdom and of so many pretensions as the senator from Massachusetts had a very different intention.

Sir, his intention was to strangle and destroy the Republican party, that party which he says he created. If he did, I say to him he performed a great work. If he was the architect and builder of the Republican party he is a great masterworkman—its dome so beautifully rounded, its columns so admirably chiselled, and all its parts so admirably prepared and builded together so smoothly and so perfectly that the mechanism charms the eye of every one who has ever seen it. Since the senator has performed such a great work, I appeal to him

to know why it is that he attempts to destroy the workmanship of his own hands.

But let me give him one word of advice. While he may think, Samson-like, that he has the strength to carry off the gates and the pillars of the temple, let me tell him when he stretches forth his arm to cause the pillars to reel and totter beneath this fabric, there are thousands and thousands of true-hearted Republicans who will come up to the work and stretching forth their strong right arms, say, "Stay thou there; these pillars stand beneath this mighty fabric of ours, within which we all dwell; it is the ark of our safety and shall not be destroyed." . . .

The history of the world would write the American people down as a people not worthy of trust, as a people without gratitude, as a people who had seen a man hew his way to fame by his own strong arm, and then allowed an ambitious politician to strike him down with a merciless blow and no one to stand by and to say, "The blow is too severe;" and I say to the senator from Massachusetts that while he has struck this blow, as he believes a heavy one, on the head of the political prospects of General Grant he has made him friends by the thousand, strong ones, too, that were merely lukewarm yesterday.

He has aroused the spirit of this land that cannot be quelled. He has in fact inflamed the old war spirit in the soldiery of the country. He has aroused the feeling of indignation in every man that warmed his feet by a campfire during the war. He has sent through this land a thrill which will return to him in such a manner and with such force as will make him feel it.

For myself I will say that I have sat quietly here for months and had not intended to say anything; I had no argu-

ment to make, intending to await the nomination of the Philadelphia convention, be it Grant or be it whom it might, believing, however, it would be Grant; but when I heard these vile slanders hurled like javelins against the President of the United States it aroused a feeling in my breast which has been aroused many times before. I am now ready to buckle on my armor and am ready for the fray and from now until November next to fight this battle in behalf of an honest man, a good soldier, and a faithful servant.

You will hear a response to this everywhere. As I said the other day it will be heard from one end of this land to the other. The lines of blue coats that were arrayed upon the hill-tops and along the valleys, with burnished bayonets, ready for the fight, the same men, although they have divested themselves of their battle array, yet retain their warlike spirit burning in their bosoms.

They will respond to this challenge; they will say to the eloquent senator from Massachusetts, "You have thrown down the glove and we will take it up."

I tell the senator he will find a response in his own State that will not give his slumberings much quiet. He will find a response everywhere. The people of this country will not see a man sacrificed to vile calumny. I would be willing, and I believe every one else would, to allow the contest to be settled fairly and justly.

Let the people select whom they desire to have for their President or for any other position. And when the senator from Massachusetts, with his thundering voice echoing in this chamber, proposes to exclude every man who fought for his country, every man that has been a soldier, from civil office, and claiming that the right to hold office belongs alone to men like himself, I say he will find even poor but honest, hard-

working men saying to him the time has not come in this free republic of America for such doctrine to be tolerated on the floor of the Senate or on the floor of the lower House of Congress, and if so, it will not be taken and relished as a sweet morsel by the people of this land.

No, Mr. President, when we are challenged to the contest and when we are told that soldiers are only made to be soldiers and educated civilians only should hold high positions of trust in this country, I am sorry to say to the senator: Unfortunate man, you were never born to be President of the United States; you will never be the President of that grand party which you claim to have originated and organized. No man with such aspirations and such views and such feelings for the common people of this country can ever succeed as a politician or statesman in the midst of a people devoted to republican institutions.

President Grant has made an honest President. He has been faithful. The affairs of the nation are in good condition. We are at peace with the civilized world. Notwithstanding the senator said we were in a muddle with every nation, we are at war with none.

Every State in this Union is quiet; the laws have been faithfully executed and administered; we have quiet and peace throughout our land. Such blessings we have not had since the war until recently. But the senator from Massachusetts would turn the government of the United States over to the hands of our enemies.

That is what we do not desire. If he desires not to accomplish that let him be faithful and stand by the old Republican ship in which there is life and outside of which there is death. But whether he does or not success will be ours; this government will be peaceful, the people happy and prosperous, har-

mony and unity will prevail, to the great advancement of the material interests of this great nation.

Mr. President, let me ask senators here who stood anxiously waiting at the close of this war to see the very state of things brought about that we see to-day, peace, comfort, quiet, and prosperity, as they looked out upon the boisterous ocean of secession and saw the raging and fierce billows of angry strife, if it was not the prayer then of every patriotic man, woman, and child in this land that the angry billows should cease and that we should once more have placid seas; and as we looked out upon these angry waves of rebellion and strife and saw the old ship of state struggling to make her way to a harbor of safety and saw this man, now President, then guiding and commanding the crew that managed this craft, when at his command our guns ceased their thunder and everything was still and quiet, the old ship, manned by her devoted crew, came safely into the harbor of safety, freighted with the hopes of mankind, where she is moored quiet and peaceful to-day? Who is there that can describe the outbreak of overjoyous hearts in strains of praise for the safety of our republic that went forth on that day of triumph? Sir, that feeling still is in the bosom of patriots and though slumbering will break forth again, having been aroused by the blast of the enemy's bugle.

Who is there among the Republicans that desires to set the old craft adrift again into the boisterous seas of tumult and confusion? I presume there is not one. Then let us as quiet, law-abiding, peaceable citizens, desirous of doing the best we can for our country, go straight forward in the execution of the proper plans and designs for the accomplishment of the objects for which republican institutions are established and are maintained.

Let us, then, proceed with our business; let us go home and present to the people of this country the indictment with its malignant charges, and ask them if they will submit to have a man so worthy as the President of the United States receive such calumny at the hands of any one without a proper rebuke, and I pledge you that you will have a response indicating no uncertain sound coming from the lips and heart of every true patriot in the land.

Mr. President, I have detained the Senate much longer than I intended, but I deemed it just to myself and to my constituents that that document should not go before them without my raising my voice at least in protest against it. I have done so in my feeble manner, not ably, but the best that I could do; having done that, I have performed what I consider my duty and will now give way for the business of the Senate to proceed.

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JONATHAN ROSS

JONATHAN ROSS, LL. D., a noted American jurist and publicist, was born at Waterford, Vt., April 30, 1826, and educated at Dartmouth College. He taught school in his native State for a time, subsequently studied law, and in 1856 was admitted to the Bar. He began the practice of his profession at St. Johnsbury, Vt., which has been his home from that time. After serving three terms in the Vermont house of representatives, he entered the State senate in 1870, and in the same year was elected one of the judges of the Vermont supreme court. In 1890, he was appointed chief-justice of the supreme court of his State, and in January, 1899, soon after the death of the senior Senator from Vermont, Justin S. Morrill, he was chosen to fill the latter's unexpired term in the United States Senate.

THE NATION'S RELATION TO ITS ISLAND POSSESSIONS

FROM SPEECH DELIVERED IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE, JANUARY 23, 1900

IN REGARD to Cuba the duty is particular. It is so constituted by the resolutions antedating the war and by the provisions of the treaty. The preamble of the joint resolution of Congress approved April 20, 1898, counts upon the abhorrent conditions which have existed in that island for more than three years, shocking to the moral sense of the people of the United States, a disgrace to Christian civilization, culminating in the destruction of the "Maine" with two hundred and sixty-six of its officers and crew, and thereupon it is solemnly resolved: (1) That the people of the island are, and of right ought to be free and independent; (2) That it is the duty of this government to demand, and it does demand, that Spain at once relinquish its authority and government of the island; (3) Authorizes the President to use the entire land and naval forces and to call out the militia to

enforce the demand; (4) The United States disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over the island except for the pacification thereof, and then asserts its determination to leave the government and control of the island to its people.

These were followed by the act approved April 25th, declaring that a state of war had existed between the United States and Spain since April 21st, and directing and empowering the President to use the entire land and naval forces and to call into the service the militia of the United States in the prosecution of the war. The President exercised the power conferred, obeyed the direction, prosecuted the war to a successful termination, resulting first in the protocol and then in the treaty ratified by the Senate, by which Spain relinquishes her sovereignty over Cuba, and the United States announces to the world that she is about to occupy and while the occupation continues she—

will assume and discharge the obligations that may, under international law, result from the fact of its occupation for the protection of life and property.

The United States is now in the exercise of such occupation. It has been claimed that she did not take sovereignty over the island; that on the relinquishment by Spain it vanished into thin air to some place unknown, or, as one eminent writer on international law has said, was in abeyance until the inhabitants of the island should be in condition to receive and exercise it. Sovereignty is supreme or paramount control in the government of a country. The United States is now and has been since the signing of the protocol in the exercise of this control in the government of the island. It has not been a divided control, as sometimes happens in the

conflict of arms. Her control has been unquestioned and undisputed. I think the United States, upon the surrender of sovereignty over the island by Spain, immediately following the signing of the protocol, took sovereignty over the island, not as her own, nor for her benefit, nor for the people of the United States, but for the inhabitants of the island, for the specified and particular purpose of pacification of the island. What is meant by the pacification of the island? It may be difficult to determine.

Persons and nations may differ in regard to the state of things which must exist to have this accomplished. The Cubans may say that they are pacified, in a state of peace now, and therefore it is our duty to withdraw and allow them to set up such a government as they may choose. We may say that pacification means more than absence of a state of war; that, considering the state of things that had existed for three or more years, it means until the inhabitants shall have acquired a reliable, stable government. Are the Cubans capable of establishing and maintaining a stable government? Who shall decide? If that be the meaning, what kind of a government? A monarchy, a despotism abhorrent to the fundamental principles that have ruled and inspired this nation from its origin? Who can tell? Then the announcement makes no provision for any return by such government when established for the expenditures and obligations incurred in prosecuting the war and administering the sovereignty. Is the United States to receive such compensation? She became a volunteer in the war, and announced herself such volunteer in taking the sovereignty until pacification is accomplished. As such the United States stands to-day before the civilized nations of the world. The inhabitants of Cuba are the beneficiaries of this voluntarily assumed duty,

and when a difference arises between this government and them, whether the duty has been performed and whether this nation is to be compensated for the expense of its administration, have a right to arraign this nation at the bar of nations and demand that it give account of the stewardship which it voluntarily assumed. The determination of the rights of this nation and of the Cubans under this assumed duty may involve many nice questions and many difficulties.

Yet there are those who earnestly urge that Congress should make a declaration that the nation holds Puerto Rico and the Philippine Islands under the same undefined, yet in a sense particular, duty. In my judgment, such a course is beset with complications and difficulties. By adopting it the nation would court these and invite the inhabitants of the islands to engender perplexing questions and entanglements. Under the treaty the nation takes the sovereignty of Puerto Rico and of the Philippine Islands, under the general duty to use it in such a manner as Congress may judge will best subserve the highest interests of their inhabitants and the inhabitants of this nation. I would announce no other duty in regard to them. Many more complications and entanglements may arise in the discharge of the particular duty to Cuba than are likely to arise in the discharge of the general duty to Puerto Rico and the Philippine Islands.

It is urged that this nation should announce the policy of its purpose in the administration of the sovereignty. The flag of the nation has been planted on those islands. That is the emblem of its policy and ever has been, even when at half-mast, mourning the loss of her sons slain in its defence. The flag never did, and I hope never may, represent but one policy. That policy is individual manhood; the right

to enjoy religious and civil liberty; the right of every man to believe in and worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience; the right to stand protected equally with every other man before the law in the enjoyment of freedom, of personal rights, and of property. Let the flag, as the representative of these principles, be planted and become dominant on and over every island and every inhabitant. No other, no better, policy can be proclaimed. In no other way can this Congress and nation discharge its duty to the people of the United States and to the people of the islands. Congress should proclaim this policy by its acts and make no attempt to do what it has no power to do—to pledge or limit the action of future Congresses. What future Congresses shall do is for them to determine and proclaim. It cannot be assumed that wisdom will die with the present Congress, nor that it is any part of its duty to proclaim what future Congresses shall do. Sufficient unto the day is the duty thereof.

If these principles are enforced as far as applicable to the government of these islands, the inhabitants will be blessed, whether they consent thereto in advance or not. In a representative government the right to govern is not derived from the consent of the governed until they arrive at a stage of advancement which will render them capable of giving an intelligent consent. Four fifths of the inhabitants of this country have given no consent except representatively. The consent of women, as a rule, and of minors is never required nor allowed to be taken. Wives and children are assumed to be represented by husbands and fathers. Boys are to be educated, trained, and ripened into manhood before they are capable of giving consent. Doubtless the boys of fifteen in this country are better prepared to give an intelligent con-

sent than are the inhabitants of those islands. This is not their fault. After having lived for more than three hundred years under a government of oppression and practical denial of all rights it is not wonderful that they are not capable of judging how they should be governed. They are to be trained in these principles: first, by being allowed, under experienced leaders, to put them in practice in the simpler forms of government, and then be gradually advanced in their exercise as their knowledge increases.

All accounts agree that the administration of justice in the islands through the courts has been a farce; that no native could establish his rights or gain his cause, however righteous, against the Spaniards and priests; that therein bribery and every form of favoritism and oppression prevailed. Under such training and abuse falsehood and deceit have become prevalent. These most discouraging traits of character cannot be changed in a generation, and never except by pure, impartial administration of justice through the courts, regardless of who may be the parties to the controversies. In my judgment, the people of this nation obtain more and clearer knowledge of their personal and property rights through the administration of justice in the courts than from all other sources.

All experience teaches that the requirements and impartial practice of the principles of civil and religious liberty cannot speedily be acquired by the inhabitants, left to their own way, under a protectorate by this nation. The experience of this nation in governing and endeavoring to civilize the Indians teaches this. For about a century this nation exercised in fact a protectorate over the tribes and allowed the natives of the country to manage their tribal and other relations in their own way. The advancement in civiliza-

tion was very slow and hardly perceptible. During the comparatively few years that Congress has by direct legislation controlled their relations to each other and to the reservations the advancement in civilization has been tenfold more rapid. This is in accord with all experience. The untaught cannot become acquainted with the difficult problems of government and of individual rights and their due enforcement without skilful guides.

No practical educator would think of creating a body of skilled mechanics by turning the unskilled loose in a machine shop. He would place there trained superintendents and guides to impart information to their untaught brains and to guide their unskilled hands. It is equally true that they would never become skilled without using their brains and hands in operating the machines. So, too, if this nation would successfully bring the inhabitants of these islands into the practice of the principles of religious and civil liberty it must both give them the opportunity to be taught in and to practice them, first in their simpler forms and then in their higher application, but under competent and trained teachers and guides placed over them by this nation. It is equally true that the laws and customs now prevailing must neither be pushed one side nor changed too suddenly. They must be permeated gradually by the leaven of civil and religious liberty until the entire population is leavened. To accomplish this without mistake in the interest of the people of this nation and of the inhabitants of the islands is a most difficult task, demanding honesty, intelligence, and the greatest care and good judgment. The task is rendered much more difficult because the people of the islands have hitherto been governed by the application of the direct opposite of these principles, and are composed of great numbers of tribes,

speaking different dialects and languages and governed by different customs and laws.

The successful solution of this problem demands accurate knowledge of the present conditions of the entire population and of the different classes, of their respective habits, customs, and laws. As the principles of civil and religious liberty are gradually intermingled with their present customs, habits, and laws, changes will be constantly going forward. An intimate knowledge of these changes will also be necessary for their successful government. Hence, as a first step to a successful discharge of this duty, Congress should create a department of government charged with the sole duty to become accurately acquainted with and to take charge of their affairs and place exact knowledge of them before Congress for its guidance. They should not, as now, be left in charge of departments overloaded and overworked.

The second step to be taken is to remove all civil appointments in the islands from the realm of politics. The nation will utterly fail in the discharge of its duty if the islands are made political footballs subject to change in government with every political change in the administration. The administration of the sovereignty must be intelligent, honest, and uninterrupted. A faithful, intelligent man with a full knowledge of the situation must not be displaced to give place to one ignorant of the conditions, however capable otherwise. The duty rests upon the entire nation. It must be discharged for the interest of the whole nation. There are honest, capable men in every political party. These should be sought out and given place in the administration of this sovereignty, as nearly as may be in proportion to the strength of the several political parties in the nation. Then when there is a political change in the administration there

will be no inducement to make extensive changes in the administrative appointees of the sovereignty.

Difficult as is the administration of this sovereignty, if honestly and intelligently undertaken such administration, I believe, will be beneficial both to the people of this nation and to the inhabitants of the islands. Difficulties which have come as these have come—unsought—honestly and faithfully encountered, bring wisdom and strength. The struggle for nearly a century in this nation over slavery gave wonderful wisdom, strength, and clearness of insight into the great principles which the nation is now called upon to apply to these oppressed islands. Stagnation is decay and ultimate death. Honest struggle, endeavor, and discussion bring light, growth, development, and strength. The primary object to be attained by the discharge of this duty is the elevation of the inhabitants of the islands physically, mentally, and morally; to make them industrious, honest, intelligent, liberty-loving, and law-abiding. This end attained, the secondary object—commercial and material growth among them and among the surrounding millions—will surely follow. The first unattained, the second, at best, will be spasmodic and of little worth.

The intelligent, thoughtful observer sees more in nature and in the ordering of the affairs of this world than the unguided plans and devices of men and nations. For him the wisdom of the Eternal shapes the affairs of men and of nations, sometimes even against their selfish plans and desires. For such, his hand planted the seed of individual manhood and for centuries watched over and cared for it in its slow growth amidst infinite sufferings, struggles, and conflicts, until at length planted on these shores, not entirely in its purity, but at last brought to full fruitage in the ter-

rible struggles and conflicts which ended with the Civil War. Under him no man, no nation, lives to itself alone. If it has received much, much must it give to the less favored. Under his guidance, I believe, the discharge of this great and difficult duty has fallen, unsought, to the lot of this nation. Then let the nation take up the duty which the Ruler of men and nations has placed upon it; go forward in an honest, unselfish, intelligent, earnest endeavor to discharge it for the highest interest of the nation and of the islands in the fear and under the direction of the Supreme Ruler, who guided the fathers and founders; and the nation will not, cannot, encounter failure.

DANIEL DOUGHERTY

DANIEL DOUGHERTY, American lawyer and orator, was born of Irish parents at Philadelphia, Pa., Oct. 15, 1826, and died at New York, Sept. 5, 1891. After studying law he was admitted to the Bar in 1849, and soon attained prominence in his profession. He was a well-known and popular speaker on the Democratic side, but being a strong Unionist he broke with the Democratic party in 1861, and in 1864 worked with the Republicans in order to secure the reëlection of President Lincoln. In 1876, he returned to the Democratic camp, and in 1880 nominated Hancock for the Presidency in a remarkable speech. Other much admired oratorical efforts of his include an address before the literary societies of Lafayette College in 1859, a speech of welcome to Lincoln in Philadelphia (1864), and an oration at Baltimore, Nov. 11, 1889, before the Roman Catholic lay congress. Mr. Dougherty's orations display both power and finish, and he was nearly if not quite as popular on the lecture platform as when making political speeches. He never held office and his latest years were passed in New York, to which city he had removed, and where he gave himself almost entirely to the pursuit of his profession.

ORATION ON DEMOCRACY

DELIVERED IN PHILADELPHIA, JULY 4, 1856

THERE are a few spots about the earth, some separated by seas and distant thousands of leagues from others, which the voice of the world has proclaimed holy and around which the memories of mankind will cling with everlasting reverence.

Such is Sinai, where God proclaimed to man the rules of human action.

Such, too, is Calvary, where, amid the darkness of the sun, the rocking of the earth, and the rising of the dead, the Saviour died, even as the portals of heaven opened.

After these, sanctified by the Divine Presence, may be mentioned Marathon, where the dauntless soldiers of glori-

ous Greece achieved the liberty of Athens and won imperishable renown.

Runnymede, where the English barons wrung from a tyrant king the Magna Charta. The Pilgrim's Rock, where the founders of New England sought a shelter from the religious persecutions of the Old World. The quiet town of St. Mary's, where religious freedom first found a foothold in the new.

And that other spot—the spot that made this day immortal, where, Pallas-like, a new-born nation sprung into giant life—where man reclaimed his long-lost prerogatives and asserted the justice of heaven in his own equality—where freedom made her last and noblest stand against the encroachments of time-covered and world-cursed tyranny—where the great work was begun in which Americans will ever toil and never tire until wrong is righted, every throne levelled with the dust, oppression swept from the earth, the world regenerated, and mankind free.

Upon this hallowed spot, this heaven-smiling morn, we meet to bow our heads and hearts in humble adoration to the Almighty Power, on whom we relied in the hour of our extremest need and whose protecting care we implore now in the day of our abundance—to reaffirm our never-dying gratitude to our departed fathers—to renew the holy vows of political equality and declare our fixed resolve to transmit unimpaired to posterity the inestimable heritage bequeathed to us.

When first through chaos rolled the voice of God, "Let there be light, and there was light;" when the Omnipotent spoke, and this beautiful world, obedient, sprung into its fixed existence—then in the image of his Maker—with a soul that shall never die,

"In beauty clad,
With health in every vein,
And reason throned upon his brow,
Stepped forth immortal man."

Yes; for man God called forth the new created world and gave to him and his posterity perpetual "dominion over the fishes of the sea and the fowls of the air and the beasts and the whole earth and every creeping creature that moveth upon the earth."

Thus, to the morning of creation, to the threshold of time, to God himself, can man trace back the title of his nobility.

It was the divine economy that all men should stand forth erect and free, bound as one people in the ties of endless brotherhood, each striving for the general good, the earth bountifully yielding her luscious fruits, all created things subject to their control, and they to God alone.

But man, though clothed with an eternity of bliss, listened to the voice of the tempter, yielded and fell from his high estate,

"Brought death into the world and all our woe."

The designs of heaven were thwarted—fierce contention and inveterate hate usurped the seat of love—justice affrighted, fled—crime mocked at mercy—might triumphed over right—custom sanctioned wrong, and man became a slave to do the bidding of his master. And thus through thousands of years the innumerable hosts that spread themselves over the world, formed in the same mold with us, of the same majestic presence, with minds to ponder, and hearts to feel, and arms to strike, bowed their heads in abject submission to succeeding tyrants, and made their existence but to live, labor, and die.

Open the pages of history, trace back the course of empire

even to Egypt, Assyria, and Babylon, whence it is lost in the twilight of fable, and what is it but a story of uncounted and never-ending wrongs?

Does history describe in glowing language the pursuits of prosperous people? How governments spoke by the voice of the governed? How justice and equality reigned supreme in council? How virtue was respected—the domestic ties regarded—merit and mind the only steps to distinction, while peace, with its attendant blessings, crowned a happy world?

Ah, no! It tells how nations rose by conquest to renown and sunk by servility to oblivion. How oppression, despotism, and cruelty covered the earth. How generation after generation, century after century, mankind was stripped of every prerogative and robbed of every right, while wars, waged for mad ambition, shook the earth and sent their shrieks along the sky.

History, with minutest skill, describes a man miscalled monarch. The millions are forgotten. It fills chapters in narrating the prowess of the victor. The people are never named save to tell the number of the slain, or captives chained to the chariot wheels to grace the triumph of the conqueror.

Liberty became a homeless wanderer through the world. True, for a time, she flashed her glories over Greece. In after years she dimly shone along the plains of Italy and over the waters of the Adriatic. She sought the Alpine hills of Switzerland, and where'er she rested for a day her presence shed joy and gladness, but never found a fast and fitting home.

Thus oppression spread its iron sway over a prostrate world. Each century served but to rivet the tighter and shackle the stronger the will and might of enslaved man.

His mind, his very soul, was not his own. If he but breathed the name of country the tyrant called it treason and struck his head from off his body. To worship his God was to mount from the funeral pile through the flames of martyrdom to heaven.

But even then, in the darkest hour, the high court of eternal justice decreed the liberation of mankind and the doom of its oppressors.

The curtain of the deep was drawn aside, and beyond the blue waves that dashed their white spray upon Europe's shore, far away toward the setting sun, lo! a continent appears! where nature herself assumes a grander air, and speaks in sublimer tones the wonders of the Deity.

Here, on the unpolluted soil of America, a bright existence was to dawn upon down-trodden man — here should he assume the authority delegated to him in Paradise—here should the big waters of a people's might be let loose, and in the great flood of freedom perish the last vestige of governmental wrong.

From the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, the religious strifes, the civil broils, and bloody wars that made Europe one Golgotha served to scatter along these eastern shores a brave and hardy people, who, in a common hatred of oppression, forgot the differences of country, race, and religion, to rejoice in the native liberty of the new-found land.

Such was the people appointed to carry out the great work of man's political regeneration — such the people whom heaven decreed should fight the great battle on which was staked the freedom or slavery of the world. And, to make the victory grander, they were matched against the mighty power that claimed jurisdiction over earth and sea — who boasted her banner played in every breeze — that the sun

never sunk on her possessions — that her arms were invincible, and her name the synonym of victory.

The people of the American colonies accepted the high trust delegated to them. It was not for themselves they fought — it was for their children's children to the remotest posterity; it was for the cause of freedom all over the world.

Everything considered, they were as favorably circumstanced as any people. They groaned under no galling yoke of oppression — no wail of woe sent a shudder through the land — they were not compelled to stand abashed beneath the gaze of a superior, or brook the presence of a master. They were the favorites of the mother country, had their colonial assemblies, and made their local laws. They enjoyed personal security and private property.

But the hour had arrived when a pernicious principle was to be crushed, lest it might enslave their children. They denied the right of a distant Parliament to legislate for them. They refused to compromise an eternal truth. They were willing to spend "millions for defence, but not one cent for tribute." Rather than submit to the Stamp Act, they were ready to bleed. Sooner than yield to the encroachments of a king, they were prepared to die.

In yonder venerated Hall they deliberated and decided. Upon this immortal spot they startled the tyrants of the earth from their long sleep of security by the declaration of a principle never before successfully asserted since the fall of Adam, that liberty and equality were the birthright of all men and linked inseparably to their nature. They declared that these were colonies no longer, but sovereign States, and, with the approving smiles of God, should continue so forever.

How they met the shock of arms history delights to tell;

what they suffered will ever be the theme of speech and story.

Through five long and dreary years, enduring hardships of the severest kind, frequently without the necessaries of life, they bore themselves as freedom's soldiers alone could do. Though many were the acts of cruelty which disgraced the British arms and cried aloud for vengeance, yet they chained their just resentments and no cruel or ignoble act stained the pure record. But one traitor dimmed the glory of their arms. Even when defeat followed defeat and despair seemed to cover their cause, confiding alone in heaven, they clung as brothers to each other until the tyrant's hordes shrunk from our shores to leave the land forever free.

Oh, Americans! my countrymen! how deep and profound is the debt of gratitude we owe the men of '76. How our hearts should swell with emotion at the bare mention of their honored names and our lives be devoted to the preservation of their priceless boon.

Yet even now, when the last of that noble race still lingers in our midst; when the forms of many still live in our recollection; when that Hall stands untouched by time, there are Americans — degenerate sons — cursed with ingratitude; "the marble-hearted fiend," who would desecrate the memories of the dead, destroy the happiness of the living, and wither the hopes of the future by dashing aside as a worthless toy that which was achieved at the price of rivers of blood and mountains of slain.

To have stopped with the Revolution would have been to risk if not to have lost all. Perhaps for a time we might have been spared a foreign yoke, but internal differences and domestic jealousies would have engendered conflicts that might end again in monarchy. The struggle had been severe

— the victory grand; to have risked the prize would have been an insult to heaven, a crime against humanity.

Therefore the American fathers met in council to establish a lasting peace where they had met to wage a glorious war. Even in Independence Hall the representatives of the old thirteen States, headed by Washington, in a spirit of mutual concession and lofty patriotism, dictated the sacred instrument that makes us one people, enabling us to guard with jealous care the rights of the humblest citizen at home and maintain the nation's honor against an embattled world.

Mark its language and contrast it with the documents of kings:

"We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this constitution for the United States of America."

And may that constitution, and every letter and line, be preserved unaltered and untouched, and the blessings of liberty shall endure until the earth shall crumble and the stars be plucked forever from the sky.

Then for the first time a government was formed that derived its just powers from the consent of the governed.

Liberty achieved, independence acknowledged, the constitution adopted, the United States took her place in the Olympian race, to contend with the nations for the prize of pre-eminence.

The titled minions of the earth scoffed aloud at what they conceived to be a chimera of democracy, but soon a look of dread came o'er them as they beheld rising the magnificent reality.

In the short space of time spanned by a single life, as if by "the touch of the enchanter's wand," the people have built a government before which the mightiest realms of the earth pale their splendors as do the stars of night before the refulgent glory of the coming day. Population has increased from three to thirty millions. Instead of thirteen, thirty-one stars now shine in the clear blue of this glorious flag. The multitudinous pursuits of enlightened life are cultivated to their highest pitch. The press is mighty and free. Peace and contentment smile alike around the poor man's hearth and the rich man's hall. Education scatters its priceless gift to every home in the land. Religion gathers around its altars the faithful of every creed. Statesmen have arisen "fit to govern all the world and rule it when 'tis wildest." Orators have appeared who have rivalled the great masters of antiquity. The doors of the American Parthenon are ever open to invite the humble but aspiring youth to enter and fill the loftiest niche. The highest dignity is within the grasp of all; for the lowly boy born and reared in our own sweet valley of Cumberland shall when the spring comes round again be clothed by the people with the first of mortal honors—that of guiding for a time the American republic upon her highway of glory.

The European emigrants leave their native fields for the American forests, and soon become life-long devoted to the country that adopts them as her own. Commerce with its golden chains links our shores with the farthest corners of the earth. The Alleghenies are climbed by the steam-car, or dashed aside to make way for the channel upon which trade floats her inland argosies.

The American advances westward and the wilderness falls, and on its ruins rise splendid cities and cultivated fields. He

reaches the broad river, and soon its glassy surface is cleft by a thousand keels. He strikes the quarry and the white marble comes forth to beautify cities and to be chiselled into monuments to commemorate the mighty deeds of the nation and to transmit to posterity the features of the great. He perforates the mountain and drags to the sunlight the inexhaustible treasures of its mines. He searches the stream, and behold! its waters run bright with shining gold. The metallic rod is raised aloft, and the storm is robbed of its terrors; the wires are thrown about the land, and the lightning leaps to do our bidding.

Our statesmen dictate new rules for the peace of nations and freedom of the seas. Our soldiers—may they never fight but in a righteous cause—have planted our banner in triumph upon foreign strands. Our sailors land upon the shores of Japan, and its gates are open the first time for centuries.

The sun of American republicanism looms proudly up in the western sky, and shedding back its rays over the darkened plains of the Old World, beholds the millions rising and preparing to demand a restoration of their natal rights. Europe already quakes to its centre with the throes of a gigantic revolution. It may be stifled for years, perhaps for generations, but it will come as sure as the day follows the night.

The people are thinking. Education is being diffused among the masses. Intolerance is departing; the Irish Catholic is emancipated; and the Protestant worships in his chapel beneath the shadow of the Vatican.

Ireland, Poland, Hungary, and Italy have raised aloft the angry arm of rebellion. It has been stricken to their side by treachery, but the life-blood still warms its veins and feeds it

with strength for another and successful blow. France has twice burst into a flame; the flame again is smothered but the fire still burns. In England the Chartists gather a hundred thousand strong on Kennington Common to petition Parliament for universal suffrage and the press thunders at the throne the demand that England's councils and England's arms shall be led by men of mind, not those whose only merit is titled blood.

These, these are the fruits of the seed sown in the soil beneath our feet. These are the achievements wrought by the people—they alone who really rule by "divine right," and are the "Lord's anointed."

Our past is but a life—a day in history. Our future—when all over this broad continent our institutions shall have peacefully extended—each year new States rising and rushing to join the happy throng—sister republics seeking the shelter of our flag—a hundred millions of freemen speaking the same language and obeying the same laws! O! to sketch the future of our beloved country would require the pen of an angel dipped in ethereal fire!

Should not a contemplation of these things make our hearts leap beyond the barriers of party, to link in love all who claim America as their home and acknowledge allegiance to the constitution?

But how intense our delight, how unbounded our joy, who can this day proudly boast that we are a part and portion of the democracy of America, the instruments with which heaven has worked these blessed changes in the past and to whom alone is entrusted our country's mission in the future.

Let our aim be to smooth down the asperities of party feeling—to frown upon the turbulent spirits who seek to widen the political differences of the people. Let our hearts expand

with an enlarged patriotism. Let us respect the opinions of others and seek to win them to our side by the dear memories which cluster around this holy spot.

As each grave political question presents itself for our consideration let us weigh it in the scales with democracy and the constitution; if it balance with these let our every effort be devoted to its triumph; if not, let us wage honorable war against it until we have accomplished its destruction. Let the "Farewell Address" be reverenced by us and our children be taught to obey its sacred injunctions. Let us not be tempted to our fall by the demon of discord who seeks, Lucifer-like, to have us driven from this political paradise—or if you do

> "Let me prophesy,
> The blood of Americans shall manure the ground,
> And future ages groan for this foul act;
> Peace shall go sleep with Turks and infidels,
> And in this seat of peace, tumultuous wars
> Shall kin with kin, and kind with kind confound;
> Disorder, horror, fear and mutiny,
> Shall here inhabit, and this land be call'd
> The field of Golgotha, and dead men's sculls;
> O! if you rear this house against this house,
> It will the wofullest division prove
> That ever fell upon this cursed earth;
> Prevent, resist it, let it not be so,
> Lest child, child's children cry against you—woe!"

But confiding in the principles of democracy, cherishing as holy the constitution of our common country—like to the Pontic Sea—no—rather let me say like our own Mississippi, whose waters indissolubly link the North and the South together—the American Union, unchecked by a returning flood, shall flow forever on through the countless ages of the future until it, with all, is lost in the great gulf of eternity.

SENATOR HAWLEY

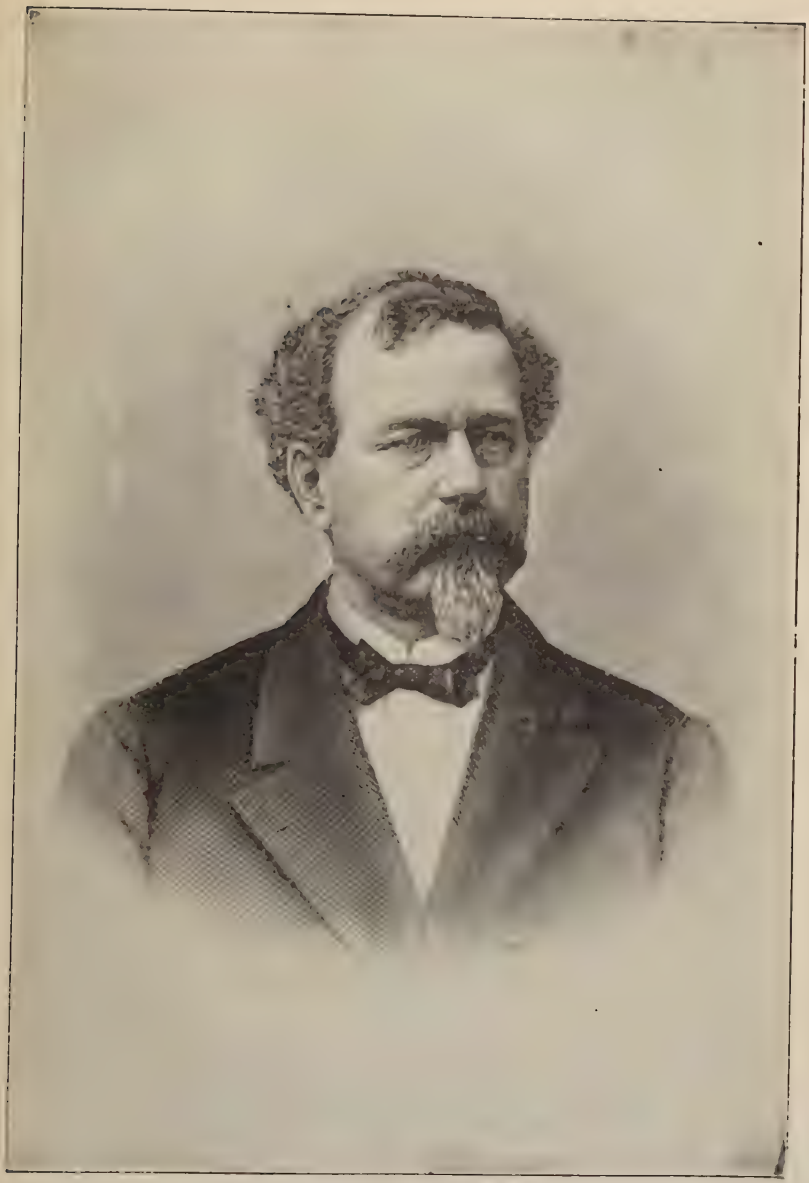
JOSEPH ROSWELL HAWLEY, LL. D., eminent American senator, general, and journalist, was born at Stewartsville, N. C., Oct. 31, 1826, and educated at Hamilton College, New York. After studying law, in 1850 he began practice at Hartford, Conn. Early in his career he entered actively into politics, and, being a pronounced opponent of slavery and slavery extension, he was among the founders of the Republican party in Connecticut. Retiring from the law, in 1857, he engaged in journalism, becoming the editor of the Hartford "Evening Press." He was the first man in Connecticut to enroll his name in the volunteer service at the opening of the Civil War, and he remained in the Federal army throughout the war period, being commissioned brigadier-general in 1864 and brevetted major-general in 1865. In 1866, he was elected Governor of Connecticut and served one term, after which he assumed the editorship of the "Hartford Courant," with which the "Press" had been consolidated. He entered Congress in 1872 and sat in the lower House for three terms, though not consecutively, and since 1881 has been a member of the United States Senate. He was president of the Centennial Commission through the entire period of its existence, 1875–76. In 1884, and again in 1888, he was an unsuccessful candidate for the Presidency on the Republican ticket.

ON THE FLAG AND THE EAGLE

FROM SPEECH ON THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, MAY 7, 1874

SOME gentlemen tell us that we may have a national celebration but not in connection with an international exhibition; that there is some incongruity between the two; and as the celebration is national, the exhibition must be only and strictly national. I would like to be heard a few moments on that point.

I believe in the Fourth of July in the popular acceptation of that term. I believe in the Fourth of July all over, from the crown of my head to the sole of my feet. As a boy and young man I fired my guns and had my good time. I like to see the boys do the same now. You may belong to a city council, and may pass volumes of ordinances against guns



JOSEPH R. HAWLEY

and fire-crackers; you may send platoons of policemen to arrest the boys who violate your ordinances, but you still have within you a secret sympathy with the young rascals, and you like to be awakened on the morning of the Fourth by great bells and guns, even if you do swear a little about it. I believe in the Fourth of July; I believe in "sentiment;" I believe in the Flag; and I honor the memory of Daniel Webster when I remember how he pointed up through yonder rotunda at the "gorgeous ensign of the Republic," and trampled with magnificent scorn upon the poor, puny, contemptible spirit that dared to ask "How much is all this worth?"

God bless Daniel Webster for that one paragraph.

I was grieved, not angry — grieved in my very soul — when I heard men on this floor, of wealth and culture and honor and ability, sneering at what they called "sentiment," and laughing at "tears," and when I heard a Massachusetts man from the very hills of Berkshire ridiculing the "eagle" and all that "cheap clap-trap." God grant that the day may be far distant when what you call "Fourth of July talk" shall be out of fashion. Let it always be in fashion. Our millions of "Boys in Blue" talked it from the cradle; and while perhaps infidels to free government sneered at them, and ridiculed the "cross-roads talk about the Fourth of July" and "the eagle," those boys believed in it; five hundred thousand graves bear witness to their belief. God help the poor, narrow soul whose eyes never moisten at the sight of the Flag.

Shall this exhibition be national alone, and not international also? First, we are thoroughly committed to the international idea by the act itself, by the proclamation of the President, by the circular of the secretary of state com-

municating it to the diplomatic representatives, by his circular to our ministers abroad, and by the acceptances of many nations. Secondly, it is interwoven with the whole scheme — the classification, the policy, and the pledges.

We are committed to it by personal presentation to foreign exhibitors, commissioners, jurors on the international jury, and others at the Vienna exposition; by the publication of this proclamation and of this scheme in three foreign languages in the pages of the Vienna catalogue. The Vienna people asked us to do it. They offered us pages for advertising our international exhibition. We observed the words of your act, and thus advertised all over Europe. We are committed to the international idea by the acceptance of donations from foreign commissions. Goods that were offered to us at Vienna by commissioners from foreign states are already on the way or in store. We told them we would take the articles gladly. From various foreign citizens we have accepted such contributions. Why, sir, the Marquis of Bute, the descendant of the Bute who was in the famous Lord North ministry that urged on George III to the long seven years' war, proposes to furnish largely a room in that exhibition displaying the wonderful resources of his estate in Wales. Being instructed to conduct an international exhibition we have felt at liberty to accept these offers.

International equity requires that our exhibition should have this character. We have as a nation taken part in three great exhibitions, while our citizens have participated in others. . . .

International exhibitions advance the common sciences, the common arts, the common progress of modern civilization. Common courtesy and good feeling require reciprocation. Reciprocation of effort for the advancement of civili-

zation and human welfare is the graceful adjunct of the national festival, especially as we have drawn benefit from other exhibitions, and are, as a people, made up of all peoples. Their usefulness is in geometrical proportion to their universality. A well-balanced exhibition of the industries of the world commands the attention of the world. It makes exhibitors willing to come and spend money to extend the field of their enterprises. It draws more exhibitors and more visitors. Many important industries — mark this, if you please — many important industries cannot be shown independently of foreign products, the basis of their manufacture. You cannot have a purely national exhibition of really great value. The men who have studied this subject of exhibitions will tell you so. To exhibit industries without bringing in materials produced abroad is impossible. For example, tin-ware, dye-woods, precious stones, coffee, tea, foreign woods, foreign hides, furs, irons, steels, and partly manufactured articles of many kinds.

Are you going to make a "know-nothing" exhibition of it, that you refuse to extend invitations to other peoples — we all the time professing above all other peoples to a generous and cosmopolitan spirit, willing to accept and embrace all peoples? Do you wish to make a little "know-nothing" exhibition of the affair?

An abandonment of the international feature would operate to exclude very large classes of our own people — all who import and deal in articles of foreign production; would exclude all pictures, statues, and works of art, whenever or however they may have come into possession of Americans — all beautiful and useful machinery, furniture, woven goods, etc.; a multitude of articles just such as we wish to learn to produce.

You say that it is a Fourth of July celebration. While I tell you I believe in cannon and trumpets, thunder and glory, orations, bonfires, and bell-ringing, still I wish something more, further and higher — an exhibition which will mark our progress for one hundred years and exhibit the modern spirit of advancement and civilization characterizing the nineteenth century. Are not gentlemen aware that this exhibition is a bazaar at which for six months all the nations will assemble to shake hands as brethren and as friends? You say they will not feel at home here. I tell you, men of Massachusetts, and Ohio, and Maine, who tell us to-day the people of other nations would not be welcomed here, that strangers would not feel at home here during this exhibition, you may learn a lesson from that "old tyrant," as boys were taught to style him, George III. He had the manhood and the kingly courtesy, despot as he was, to rise before his Parliament and acknowledge our independence and say what I will read:

"I lost no time in giving the necessary orders to prohibit the further prosecution of offensive war upon the continent of North America. Adopting, as my inclination will always lead me to do, with decision and effect whatever I collect to be the sense of my Parliament and my people, I have pointed all my views and measures in Europe, as in North America, to an entire and cordial reconciliation with the colonies. Finding it indispensable to the attainment of the object, I did not hesitate to go to the full length of the powers vested in me, and offer to declare them "—[here he paused, and was in evident agitation; either embarrassed in reading his speech by the darkness of the room or affected by a very natural emotion. In a moment he resumed]—" and offer to declare them free and independent States. In thus admitting their separation from the crown of these kingdoms I have sacrificed every consideration of my own to the wishes and opinions of my people. I make it my humble and ardent

prayer to Almighty God that Great Britain may not feel the evils which might result from so great a dismemberment of the empire, and that America may be free from the calamities which have formerly proved in the mother country how ·· ential monarchy is to the enjoyment of constitutional liberty. Religion, language, interests, and affections may, and I hope will, yet prove a bond of permanent union between the two countries."

And whenever the English flag and American flag meet in foreign waters, there the Englishman salutes the Stars and Stripes on the Fourth of July. And when the Queen's birthday comes around, the American salutes the Cross of Saint George. They exchange the salutes of guns and dipping of colors, as becomes gentlemen among the nations of the earth. And while I would fight John Bull to-morrow, and so would you, John Bull and we are friends to-day; we are blood relations, welcome here and welcome there.

And in the great struggle which makes the glory of the nineteenth century, for pre-eminence in the application of science, to lift up the weak and lowly and lighten the sorrows of labor, we are generous rivals, standing on a common platform. We welcome here the Englishman, the German, the Frenchman — all of them! While the kings of those European monarchies may not love the Declaration of Independence their people love it, and we want to invite their people here. We want their people to know the character and boundless magnitude of our resources, that they may come here in still greater numbers. Human ingenuity cannot devise a fairer way — to use the commercial expression — to advertise the American continent than by this exhibition. . . .

I have a right to be proud of American industry, of American art and science. In nine tenths of the fields embraced in these exhibitions we may boldly challenge the competition

of the world. I say that deliberately, and thereon put my all at stake. You will have no reason to be ashamed of this exhibition. True, we cannot produce a Titian, or a Raphael, or a Rubens, or a Praxiteles; but it took thousands of years to produce them, and we have done very well in one hundred.

But that is not all. We have had a people to make in a hundred years; and, the Lord be praised, we have made a people. Bitterly as we fought among ourselves, I think we have got to be one nation now and shall remain so. We have done a great work in one hundred years. Why should we not let the world see what it is? Why should not we stop to examine it ourselves? You do not know your country. You do not know what an exhibition we can make. Let us put in one hall the progress of education and its present condition; in another the progress of religious denominations — and several of them are already making their arrangements. In another, the varied and innumerable soils and their capacity; elsewhere the treasures of the mine. Why, the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. White] told you last night that you could ride in his State, which we think of as a "cotton State," one hundred miles over the very best iron ore, the bed fifteen feet deep and forty wide, and with the mountains full of it besides; and engineers say that there is coal enough in that State to supply the world for two thousand years. How many of you knew the resources of Alabama? We can beat Great Britain in coal and iron in that one State. We can produce iron there at fourteen dollars per ton, the gentleman says; and others have told me the same. And my friend before me from Chattanooga [Mr. Crutchfield] can give a similar account of the region around him.

Look at your wheatfields. We can furnish bread to the whole world and not miss it. Look at the wheat growth on

the Pacific coast. Ten years ago we did not know that wheat could be produced there, and now California is feeding nations. There are fields ready for wheat over which you cannot ride in a week; where not only no plow has ever passed, but where the white man's foot has hardly yet trod, in the boundless Saskatchewan Valley, yet to be brought under cultivation.

You have not tickled the surface of the great Mississippi Valley. You have gold and silver enough to keep your miners at work for centuries; your coal, your iron; your soil, black and rich, fifteen feet deep, the deposit of centuries. Spread this information on maps, charts, and tabulated statements, on the walls of your exposition building. You wish the world to know it.

There are men now making ready specimens of the root, the bark, the wood, the leaf, flower, and fruit of every tree from Maine to California — a collection such as no other country in the world can make. There will be an exhibition of the fishes to be gathered from Maine to Galveston, on the Pacific coast, and in our inland seas, such as will be of interest to all the naturalists of the world. Then there are our fire-arms, in which we beat the world; our clocks which we export everywhere; our edge tools, in which we now beat Sheffield in her own markets, because the Yankee brain works through the machine that makes the tool, and we are quicker in that than John Bull. We have been building locomotives and passenger cars for Europe. John Bull did not know how to go comfortably from London to Edinburgh till we sent him the other day some trains of Pullman cars. Then there are the cold fields of Maine, where they raise two hundred bushels of potatoes to the acre; and all the various soils and climates between that State and the sunny fields of San Diego, in

California, rich in oranges, limes, lemons, almonds, all fruits of all climates, the sugar cane of Louisiana, the matchless cotton of the Sea Islands, the grape culture, destined to an infinite development — everywhere productive capability immeasurable.

Let us devote a few weeks to arranging all these things in rooms and cases, and then ask the world to come and see them. In both aspects, that of fraternity and that of profit also, I believe this enterprise is legitimate and lawful. We will have scientific men and commissioners, who will come here and make their reports, published at home, and read and talked over by their people. The press of the world will sketch in words and pictures the wonders and uses we shall have, and the year after your immigration will be increased by thousands upon thousands. Your trade will be increased. New ships and flags will come to sell and buy.

How grand the opportunity to promote fraternity among the nations, whose representatives will there meet in the friendly competitions of a Christian civilization!

One consideration more that lies near my heart. In that summer of 1876 we of these States will meet under one flag and one name, avowing one purpose and one destiny, looking back far beyond the fierce and bloody quarrels that have tortured our hearts and reddened our fields. Pass our amnesty bills, secure the civil rights of all, clear the ground, and shake hands. I look around and see men who would have shot each other at sight a few years ago. I have learned something in this hall, gained somewhat, I hope, of a kindlier feeling, just through these daily friendly greetings. We need such opportunity for all, as you, Mississippi [looking at Mr. Lamar] have said, that we may "know one another better, and love one another better."

PREMIER SAGASTA

PRAXETES MATEO SAGASTA, Spanish Liberal statesman and premier, was born at Torrecilla de Cameros, July 21, 1827. He studied physics and mathematics, and in 1843 entered the school of engineering at Madrid. After he had practiced engineering in the provinces, he was elected in 1854 to the Constituent Córtes by the provinces of Zamora. After taking part in the Madrid insurrection of July, 1856, he had to seek refuge in France. He was amnestied and became professor in the school of engineering. As a member of the Córtes he belonged to the progressive minority and edited their organ, "La Imperia." After the unsuccessful insurrection of July 22, 1866, he again fled to France, but when the revolution of 1868 broke out he returned to Spain and became minister of the interior in the provisional government. He was a zealous supporter of General Prim and an opponent of Zorilla. In October, 1871, he was elected president of the Córtes; two months later he became minister of the interior, and in the February following was entrusted with the formation of the cabinet. Under Serrano, early in 1874, he became minister of the exterior, in May, of the interior, and in August, president of the ministry, resigning in December, in consequence of the coming to the throne of Alfonso XII. He was later elected to the Córtes and joined the Liberals. Thenceforward he was head of the Constitutional party opposed to the Conservative party led by Cánovas, whom he succeeded as minister-president when his party came into power. Just after the death of Alfonso XII, Nov. 25, 1885, he again succeeded Cánovas as prime minister. Later in the same year, he sought to reconcile all parties by a general amnesty and to restore tranquillity by vigorous military regulations. He was successful in resisting the republican element after the introduction of universal suffrage. His ministry was condemned in consequence of the military conspiracies at Madrid, in 1886, but he organized a new cabinet which was pledged to various important reforms. In 1887, he put down a minor conspiracy among the Republicans, and in 1890, he introduced universal suffrage to a certain extent in order to meet the rivalry of Cánovas. In the same year he had to deal with the insubordination of certain generals and in consequence retired from the premiership. He again came into power in December, 1892, but in consequence of similar disturbances retired in March, 1895; only, however, to come into office again in March, 1901, when, Cánovas being dead, his administration had to face the embarrassing situation presented by the Cuban insurrection and war with this country.

IN DEFENCE OF THE UNITY OF ITALY

DELIVERED IN THE SESSION OF THE CORTES ON MARCH 6, 1861

IF THE signatories of the treaty of 1815, instead of conher humiliation, had dismembered her as they did tenting themselves with the subjection of Spain, with Italy, would Spain have rested content therewith? No, a thousand times no! She would have suffered it as a burden until she had acquired the strength to hurl it back upon those that unjustly laid it upon her.

But the government of the Liberal Union, for which, as it would appear, there is no right above the right of kings, for which, as it would appear, there are families chosen by Providence that they may reign forever; for which there is no other sovereignty and no other origin of power than that of divine right; the government of the Liberal Union believed that Spain should remain very well satisfied with certain treaties because they favored the interests of certain families; believed that Spain should resign herself to the humiliation that came from those treaties solely because in their redistribution of territory a portion of that territory concerned the Bourbon family. The government of the Liberal Union believed that Spain would behold with pleasure the reduction of her interests and the lowering of her dignity in consequence of the growth of a certain family's interests, forgetting that the dignity of Spain is very much above a name, a family, however important and traditional it may be.

But not even this personal politics, not even this disastrous

policy, has been conducted with the dignity and decorum that belongs to the government of a state.

It is necessary for me to reproduce part of one of the notes that I have already read. I will repeat what the government said lest the honorable deputies may have forgotten it. In the first despatch from the minister of state to our representative at Turin it said the following among other things: "If, contrary to our expectations, the revolt of Sicily should triumph and it should be decided to concede to the King of Sardinia or to any of the princes of the family, the sovereignty of said island, it will be the duty of your Excellency to manifest verbally to the honorable Count Cavour that her Majesty's government would be obliged to sustain, with suitable firmness, the rights that appertain to her Majesty the Queen," etc.

This is what the government said in its first note when it learned of the invasion of Sicily by Garibaldi. Very well! Not only has that occurred which the government did not even venture to fear, not only has Victor Emmanuel been offered the sovereignty of one of the Sicilies, but the insurrection has extended to the two Sicilies and he has been offered the sovereignty of both; and at last the crown has even been torn from the brow of Francisco II and placed upon Victor Emmanuel's. And what did the government of Spain do after the consequences exceeded its extraordinary previsions, after having sent that strong note, for it was a strong note to send to a friendly government when there was no reason to expect that Piedmont had any influence whatever in the invasion of Sicily? What did the government do after all this? The following: In another note, dated October 24, the minister of state said to our representative at Turin: "After the protest presented by your Excellency,

her Majesty's government does not judge convenient your presence at that court. Thus your Excellency may signify the same in appropriate terms to the minister of foreign affairs, retiring from Turin when you have accredited the secretary of legation as *chargé d'affaires.*

That is to say, in the second note, in the last note, after the consequences had gone much beyond the expectations of the government, it contented itself with saying: "Come back to Madrid; but before you leave put the secretary in charge that your absence from the embassy may not be noted and come exactly as you have come at other times to take part in the debates of the Córtes."

Does this last note respond to that which the government promised in the first? Is there harmony between the strength of the first and the tolerance and suavity of the second? One of the two: either the government exceeded itself in the first and failed in the second, or it promised much and performed little. If in the first event the government was short-sighted, in the second it was weak; the lack of foresight might have brought upon us grave conflicts, disasters uncounted; the weakness might have brought upon us humiliation and ridicule, and humiliation and ridicule in the presence of other nations is our death. And is that the way to conduct the high interests of State? Is that the way to regard the dignity of the Spanish nation? Is that the way to secure the aggrandizement of our position abroad? Unhappy government, which, wherever it has gone with its sympathies, as for example, at Naples or at Rome, has encountered catastrophe; and at the same time, wherever it has gone with its threats and its opposition, fortune has come to favor the menaced with victory! Thus is it in consequence: Piedmont, which was a corner of Europe almost

hidden by the folds spread from the Alps, is to-day a nation of the first rank.

But if from notes and documents we pass to deeds, if leaving the diplomatic documents out of account we take into consideration the practical conduct of the government and of its agents in regard to this question, what do we see? We see, or we have seen, a Spanish ambassador, a representative of this nation, choose to act like a faithful and compliant subject of an unfortunate monarch. We see, or we have seen, his pertinacity in keeping at the side of him who seemed to be his lord; with pains that distinguished him from the diplomatic agents of the other nations that were not satellites of Austria he has let it be said that our ships signalled the besieged to let them know the positions occupied by the besiegers; has given occasion to have it said in a circular of the last minister of state of Francisco II that, having counselled the ambassadors of all the powers to stay away from him that they might escape the horrors of the siege, all did so excepting the Spanish minister, who declared that he would remain at the side of Francisco II, whatever might be his fate; and that he gave ground upon which he might be officially accused before Europe that his counsels had probably contributed to the resistance of Francisco II at Gaeta. That is to say, our representative with Francisco II had decided, undoubtedly on his own account, that whatever might be the fate of him who was King of Naples — and I do not believe he will ever be so again — he would continue near his person; that is to say, that he intervened all he actively could in a struggle in which the Spanish government, in the face of Europe, had declared itself completely neutral. If the Spanish agent with that monarch had debts of affection to pay, or extraordinary recompenses

to satisfy, he might have done so without in any way compromising the interests of the Spanish nation. If he had desired to act the part of an attached man he might have done so by disinvesting himself and taking sword or gun in hand, had he been so disposed, to defend in the breach the honor of his lord.

All the rest of it has been venturesome, has been without foresight, has had the possibility of bringing very grave consequences for us, in a way compromising us for the worst of causes, or exposing us to suffer a ridiculous humiliation before the powers that had promised one another not to intervene in the struggle, or to permit anybody to intervene. We have also seen that our agents abroad have acted in a way to convert Spain into an officious mail-bearer for other powers; it has been seen that our war-ships were apparently destined to act the contraband with diplomatic documents, until it was said that nothing but the envelopes were for the Spanish ambassador, and the result was that it looked as if we sought to cause to enter furtively into a blockaded city the correspondence of other powers, thus occasioning our maritime dignity to suffer shameful humiliation and exposing Spain to grave and terrible conflicts.

Lastly we see that our representative has disappeared from the territory of Naples, that we do not know where he is, nor who is to defend the interests of our citizens there. The ambassador at Naples should be present only in the territory of Naples, and it is not to be conceived that, having abandoned the interests confided to him, he can be anywhere else than in Spain, if he has been given license to come back.

But, however this may be, I ask the government: Has the representative of Spain at Naples worked in conformity

with the instructions of the government, or not? Has he worked in conformity with the instructions of the government? Then the Congress may see what has become of neutrality. Has he not worked in conformity with those instructions? Then that diplomatic agent has committed grave faults, the responsibility for which can never disappear from the government, because it sent him thither, because it keeps him there, because it has not removed him, because thus it gives it to be understood that it approves the policy he has followed. Certainly no other than the government can be charged with this responsibility (and if there were other, so much the worse), for the times have gone by in which the ambassadors represented solely and exclusively the persons of the monarchs from whom they were sent.

To-day they do not represent, to-day they must not represent, to-day they cannot represent more than the policy and the interests of the governments that sent them. Lastly — in order that in everything, down to the smallest details, there may be seen the position of the government and the hostility which it shows towards that grand idea, towards that grand movement of Italy — when the vacancy occurred in the embassy at Rome, where is manifest the struggle between the principle of liberty and the principle of absolutism, where is manifest the struggle between the liberal principle and the reactionary principle, it sends to occupy that post as representative of Spain a man of eminently reactionary ideas in politics. And as if it were not sufficient to send a man known for his reactionary ideas it is necessary that the hostility that he bears towards that grand movement be manifest even in the nomination.

When in Italy there is hostility to the temporal power of the Pope, who is nominated? A political person who has

ventured to show the bad taste of designating as loathsome the principle of national sovereignty, one of the two principles which are at issue in that country. Gentlemen, what foresight, what prudence, and above all what neutrality!

The Congress, gentlemen, has already seen the reasons that the government had, which were the considerations upon which it founded absolutely its policy relative to the question of Italy, to settle one of the most important of the questions under debate. Therefore I will now leave to the consideration of the Congress, and later to the consideration of the country, the disastrous consequences, the melancholy results, which such a policy may bear. When the question that to-day is debated in Europe absorbs the attention of almost all the powers on earth, when to settle them appeal is made to the highest regions of politics, when from its results is made to depend, and with right, the stable peace of the nations, when everywhere this great movement of public opinion is respected, when for such elevated considerations the family compact is prescinded that has already on the other part been broken and completely destroyed, when for such elevated considerations certain surnames are prescinded and those who up to now have been sovereigns in Italy are abandoned to their fate, can there be anything more inappropriate, anything more dangerous, than to oppose a policy so elevated with a family policy, a personal policy, a mean policy.

Can there be anything more prejudicial than the invocation of antiquated law, than to talk the language of antiquated times? Can there be anything more disastrous than to establish a species of hand community between the fate of the Bourbons there and the fate of the Bourbons here? What is to become of a discredited and selfish government with no incentive other than its own interest, with no other idea, with

no other dogma, with no other system than that of governing one day longer? What is to become of a ministry that keeps its gaze constantly fixed on the governmental bench when it should keep it directed toward the future? What is to become of a ministry that is as changeable as a weathercock? that chooses all forms, that assumes all colors, in order to keep itself in power one day more? What is to become of a ministry, parasitic plant of the throne, upon whose substance it aims to feed itself and from whose life it seeks to live like the clinging plant that feeds itself upon the substance and the life of the tree, without considering that if the clinging plant lives longer the tree lives less and that there will come a day when both the plant and the tree may fall from the same stroke of the axe? What is to become of a ministry that takes no account whatever of the lessons of history?

There will happen that which has always happened, the inevitable will happen.

Not long ago, gentlemen, a powerful dynasty existed in a neighboring nation. At the head of this dynasty stood a monarch endowed with the greatest qualities. Ministers of this monarch, either as a stimulus to conserve power or as a means for not losing it, counselled or consented to a political course which, even though developed by the most elevated means, resembled the political course which the Liberal Union government has adopted for international questions since its advent to power. That monarch and his ministers believed that family interests were the interests of the country and followed an external family policy, a personal policy, a policy that constantly tended to advance the interests of the family. That dynasty, that powerful monarch, disappeared, gentlemen, as phantasms disappear; and at the same time as the splintered throne was pitched from the balconies of the

Tuileries the monarch fled to seek shelter on foreign soil, and Europe, which one day had seen him great and powerful, had not a friendly hand to reach him when the political convulsions of his kingdom drove him from his throne. A person who had figured so highly, a king who had grown to be so beloved, so respected and so great spent his last days, gentlemen, in the silence of indifference, died in the solitude of oblivion.

Unfortunate are the governments for whom these eloquent lessons of history pass unheeded! Time will soon charge itself with the repetition of like terrible lessons for their benefit.

The government of the Liberal Union, therefore, the government of national sovereignty, the government of liberty, the government of modern law, presents itself in opposition to representative institutions in Italy; presents itself not like any ordinary reactionist, but like the chief, like the Quixote, of the reaction; it invokes the antiquated law founded upon the treaties 1758 and 1815 and modified in 1817, under which, should they exist, we should have in Spain neither the shadow of constitutional government that we now have, neither would the ministers be able to seat themselves upon those benches, neither would the minister of state be able to write his notes, neither would I censure, as I am doing, the conduct of the government, neither could you, gentlemen, be here as representatives of the Spanish nation to approve or disapprove that conduct.

This government defends a dynasty that has always been our constant enemy, that has fomented our civil discords, that has procured our misfortune by all possible means, guided ever by its blind despotism; and invoking all this as law and as right — how absurd! — the same as would be the con-

demnation of our existence, forgetting our history, running contrary to our institutions, protesting against our future.

Hence let Spain know, let Europe know, let all the world know, that a government that thus forgets the highest interests of the nation does not represent, nor can it represent, the will, the aspirations, the desires, of the Spanish people; the Spanish people can by no means make itself responsible for the gross mistakes committed by this government contrary to its opinion; for the gross mistakes which it has committed upon this great question of the unity of Italy. For if you protest against the nationality of Italy you protest against our history, which from Sagunto to Saragossa represents the cause of the nationality and of the independence of peoples. To be recreant to the action of the Italians is to be recreant to the action of our fathers; you will be recreant to the blood that has flowed since from Cavadonga to Granada we saved our independence from the African yoke.

In condemning the sentiment of Italy you will condemn the sentiment of Daoiz and Velarde; you will condemn the sentiment that animated the Spanish people with a heroism unequalled in history, that it might recover its independence. If you condemn that which the Italian people does, you will condemn those who with their heroism raised the altar of country and nourished with their blood the tree of liberty. Then you may efface from those marbles the names of Padilla, of Daoiz, of Torrijos, to replace them with those of the Flemings of Carlos V, those of Napoleon's generals, those of Torquemada and Calomarde.

In this epoch, in which opinion has for some time been falsifying itself; in this epoch, in which, thanks to moral influence, popular assemblies cannot, according to my conception, faithfully represent the desires and opinions of the

people, and in which for this reason these bodies are losing much of their importance even to the point that the governments in power may not be their legitimate expression, I do not know what will happen; but happen whatever may, I conclude these words satisfied in having spoken the truth, in having spoken it with loyalty, with noble intent, even though this truth may be heard with scorn on one hand and with displeasure on the other; on one hand and on the other there will come an occasion when this same truth will accredit itself; and come what will, I sit down, but partially satisfied, because while I firmly believe that I have complied with my duty, I cannot persuade myself that I have performed it with the effectiveness demanded by a matter so important.

LIBRARY
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DANIEL W. VOORHEES

DANIEL WOLSEY VOORHEES, American Democratic politician and lawyer, was born at Liberty, O., Sept. 26, 1827, and died at Washington, D. C., April 10, 1897. Educated at Indiana Asbury (now De Pauw) University, he studied law and after his admittance to the Bar in 1851 began practice at Covington, Ind. In 1856, he was an unsuccessful Democratic candidate for Congress, and in the following year removed to Terre Haute in the same State. From 1858 to 1861 he was United States district attorney, within that period defending John E. Cook, one of the associates of John Brown at Harper's Ferry, indicted for treason, murder, and inciting slaves to rebellion. His address to the court on the occasion gave him considerable reputation as an orator. He was a Democratic representative in Congress, 1861–65, and again, 1869–71. In 1877, he entered the national Senate and was reëlected in 1885 and 1891. Soon after his appearance in the Senate he made an eloquent plea for the free coinage of silver and for the acceptance of greenbacks as full legal tender money. In 1893, however, he voted for the repeal of the silver purchase clause of "The Sherman Act." From 1880 to 1897 he was chairman of the joint select committee to provide additional accommodation for the library of Congress, and to his untiring efforts is due, in great measure, the erection of the present congressional library building. He was a strong partisan in his political views, and in allusion to his stature was sometimes styled "The tall Sycamore of the Wabash." His "Speeches" were issued in 1875; and "Forty Years of Oratory," published in 1898, contains his "Lectures, Addresses, and Speeches," with a brief sketch of his life and career.

DEFENCE OF JOHN E. COOK

DELIVERED AT CHARLESTOWN, VIRGINIA, NOVEMBER 8, 1859

WHO is John E. Cook?

He has the right himself to be heard before you; but I will answer for him. Sprung from an ancestry of loyal attachment to the American government, he inherits no blood of tainted impurity. His grandfather an officer of the Revolution, by which your liberty, as well as mine was achieved, and his gray-haired father, who lived to

weep over him, a soldier of the war of 1812, he brings no dishonored lineage into your presence. If the blood which flows in his veins has been offered against your peace, the same blood in the veins of those from whose loins he sprang has been offered in fierce shock of battle and foreign invasion in behalf of the people of Virginia and the Union. Born of a parent stock occupying the middle walks of life, and possessed of all those tender and domestic virtues which escape the contamination of those vices that dwell on the frozen peaks, or in the dark and deep caverns of society, he would not have been here had precept and example been remembered in the prodigal wanderings of his short and checkered life.

Poor deluded boy! wayward, misled child! An evil star presided over thy natal hour and smote it with gloom. The hour in which thy mother bore thee and blessed thee as her blue-eyed babe upon her knee is to her now one of bitterness as she stands near the bank of the chill river of death and looks back on a name hitherto as unspotted and as pure as the unstained snow. May God stand by and sustain her, and preserve the mothers of Virginia from the waves of sorrow that now roll over her! . . .

In an evil hour — and may it be forever accursed! — John E. Cook met John Brown on the prostituted plains of Kansas. On that field of fanaticism, three years ago, this fair and gentle youth was thrown into contact with the pirate and robber of civil warfare.

To others whose sympathies he has enlisted I will leave the task of transmitting John Brown as a martyr and hero to posterity. In my eyes he stands the chief of criminals, the thief of property stolen — horses and slaves — from the citizens of Missouri, a falsifier here in this court, as I shall

yet show, and a murderer not only of your citizens, but of the young men who have already lost their lives in his bloody foray of your border. This is not pleasant to say, but it is the truth, and, as such, ought to be and shall be said. You have seen John Brown, the leader.

Now look on John Cook, the follower. He is in evidence before you. Never did I plead for a face that I was more willing to show. If evil is there, I have not seen it. If murder is there, I am to learn to mark the lines of the murderer anew. If the assassin is in that young face, then commend me to the look of an assassin. No, gentlemen, it is a face for a mother to love, and a sister to idolize, and in which the natural goodness of his heart pleads trumpet-tongued against the deep damnation that estranged him from home and its principles.

Let us look at the meeting of these two men. Place them side by side. Put the young face by the old face; the young head by the old head. We have seen somewhat of the history of the young man. Look now for a moment at the history of the old man.

He did not go to Kansas as a peaceable settler with his interests linked to the legitimate growth and prosperity of that ill-fated Territory. He went there in the language of one who has spoken for him since his confinement here, as the Moses of the slaves' deliverance. He went there to fulfil a dream, which had tortured his brain for thirty years, that he was to be the leader of a second exodus from bondage. He went there for war and not for peace. He went there to call around him the wayward and unstable elements of a society in which the bonds of order, law, and religion were loosened, and the angry demon of discord was unchained. Storm was his element by his own showing. He courted the

fierce tempest. He sowed the wind that he might reap the whirlwind. He invoked the lightning and gloried in its devastation. Sixty summers and winters had passed over his head, and planted the seeds of spring and gathered the harvests of autumn in the fields of his experience. He was the hero, too, of battles there. If laurels could be gained in such a fratricidal war as raged in Kansas, he had them on his brow.

Ossawatomie was given to him, and added to his name by the insanity of the crazy crew of the North as Napoleon conferred the names of battlefields on his favorite marshals. The action of Black Jack, too, gave him consideration, circumstance, and condition with philanthropists of bastard quality, carpet knight heroes in Boston, and servile followers of fanaticism throughout the country. His courage is now lauded to the skies by men who have none of it themselves. This virtue, I admit, he has — linked, however, with a thousand crimes. An iron will, with which to accomplish evil under the skilful guise of good, I also admit to be in his possession — rendering his influence over the young all the more despotic and dangerous.

Imagine, if you please, the bark on which this young man at the bar, and all his hopes were freighted, laid alongside of the old weather-beaten and murderous man-of-war whose character I have placed before you. The one was stern and bent upon a fatal voyage. Grim-visaged war, civil commotion, pillage and death, disunion and universal desolation thronged through the mind of John Brown. To him law was nothing, the Union was nothing, the peace and welfare of the country were nothing, the lives of the citizens of Virginia were nothing.

Though a red sea of blood rolled before him, yet he lifted

up his hand and cried Forward. Shall he now shrink from his prominence, and attempt to shrivel back to the grade of his recruits and subalterns? Shall he deny his bad pre-eminence, and say that he did not incite the revolt which has involved his followers in ruin? Shall he stand before this court and before the country, and deny that he was the master-spirit, and gathered together the young men who followed him to the death in this mad expedition?

No! his own hand signs himself "Commander-in-chief," and shows the proper distinction which should be made between himself and the men who, in an evil moment, obeyed his orders. Now turn to the contrast again and behold the prisoner. Young and new to the rough ways of life, his unsandalled foot, tender and unused to the journey before him, a waif on the ocean, at the mercy of the current which might assail him, and unfortunately endowed with that fearful gift which causes one to walk as in a dream through all the vicissitudes of a lifetime; severed and wandering from the sustaining and protecting ties of kindred, he gave, without knowing his destination or purpose, a pledge of military obedience to John Brown, "Commander-in-chief." . . .

John Brown was the despotic leader and John E. Cook was an ill-fated follower of an enterprise whose horror he now realizes and deplores. I defy the man, here or elsewhere, who has ever known John E. Cook, who has ever looked once fully into his face, and learned anything of his history, to lay his hand on his heart and say that he believes him guilty of the origin or the results of the outbreak at Harper's Ferry.

Here, then, are the two characters whom you are thinking to punish alike. Can it be that a jury of Christian men will

find no discrimination should be made between them? Are the tempter and the tempted the same in your eyes? Is the beguiled youth to die the same as the old offender who has pondered his crimes for thirty years? Are there no grades in your estimation of guilt? Is each one, without respect to age or circumstances, to be beaten with the same number of stripes?

Such is not the law, human or divine. We are all to be rewarded according to our works, whether in punishment for evil, or blessings for good that we have done. You are here to do justice, and if justice requires the same fate to befall Cook that befalls Brown, I know nothing of her rules, and do not care to learn. They are as widely asunder, in all that constitutes guilt, as the poles of the earth, and should be dealt with accordingly. It is in your power to do so, and by the principles by which you yourselves are willing to be judged hereafter, I implore you to do it!

Come with me, however, gentlemen, and let us approach the spot where the tragedy of the 17th of October occurred, and analyze the conduct of the prisoner there. It is not true that he came as a citizen to your State and gained a home in your midst to betray you. He was ordered to take his position at Harper's Ferry in advance of his party for the sole purpose of ascertaining whether Colonel Forbes, of New York, had divulged the plan. This order came from John Brown, the "Commander-in-chief," and was doubtless a matter of as much interest to others of prominent station as to himself.

Cook simply obeyed — no more. There is not a particle of evidence that he tampered with your slaves during his temporary residence. On the contrary, it is admitted on all hands that he did not. His position there is well defined.

Nor was he from under the cold, stern eye of his leader. From the top of the mountain his chief looked down upon him, and held him as within a charmed circle. Would Cook have lived a day had he tried to break the meshes which environed him?

Happy the hour in which he had made the attempt even had he perished, but in fixing the measure of his guilt, the circumstances by which he was surrounded must all be weighed. At every step we see him as the instrument in the hands of other men, and not as originating or advising anything. . . .

But it has been said that Cook left the scene at Harper's Ferry at an early hour to avoid the danger of the occasion, and thus broke faith with his comrades in wrong. Even this is wholly untrue. Again we find the faithful, obedient subaltern carrying out the orders of his chief, and when he had crossed the river and fulfilled the commands of Brown, he did what Brown's own son would not do — by returning and exposing himself to the fire of the soldiers and citizens for the relief of Brown and his party. We see much, alas! too much, to condemn in his conduct, but nothing to despise; we look in vain for an act that belongs to a base or malignant nature. Let the hand of chastisement fall gently on the errors of such as him, and reserve your heavy blows for such as commit crime from motives of depravity.

Up to this point I have followed the prisoner, and traced his immediate connection with this sad affair. You have everything before you. You have heard his own account of his strange and infatuated wanderings up and down the earth with John Brown and his coadjutors; how like a fiction it all seems, and yet how lamentably true; how unreal to minds like ours; how like the fever dream of a mind warped

and disordered to the borders of insanity does the part which the prisoner has played seem to every practical judgment!

Is there nothing in it all that affords you the dearest privilege which man has on earth — the privilege of being merciful? Why, the very thief on the cross, for a single moment's repentance over his crimes, received absolute forgiveness, and was rewarded with paradise.

But, gentlemen, in estimating the magnitude of this young man's guilt, there is one fact which is proven in his behalf by the current history of the day which you cannot fail to consider. Shall John E. Cook perish, and the real criminals who for twenty years have taught the principles on which he acted, hear no voice from this spot? Shall no mark be placed on them? Shall this occasion pass away, and the prime felons who attacked your soil and murdered your citizens at Harper's Ferry escape? The indictment before us says that the prisoner was "seduced by the false and malignant counsels of other traitorous persons."

Never was a sentence written more just and true. "False and malignant counsels" have been dropping for years, as deadly and blighting as the poison of the Bohun upas tree, from the tongues of evil and traitorous persons in that section of the Union to which the prisoner belongs. They have seduced not only his mind, but many others, honest and misguided like him, to regard the crime at Harper's Ferry as no crime, your rights as unmitigated wrongs, and the constitution of the country as a league with hell and a covenant with death. On the skirts of the leaders of abolition fanaticism in the North is every drop of blood shed in the conflict at Harper's Ferry; on their souls rests the crime of murder for every life there lost; and all the waters of the ocean could not wash

the stains of slaughter from their treacherous and guilty hands.

A noted Boston abolitionist [Wendell Phillips], a few days ago, at Brooklyn, New York, in the presence of thousands, speaking of this tragic occurrence, says: "It is the natural result of anti-slavery teaching. For one, I accept it. I expected it." I, too, accept it in the same light, and so will the country. Those who taught, and not those who believed and acted, are the men of crime in the sight of God. And to guard other young men, so far as in my power, from the fatal snare which has been tightened around the hopes and destiny of John E. Cook, and to show who are fully responsible for his conduct, I intend to link with this trial the names of wiser and older men than he; and, if he is to be punished and consigned to a wretched doom, they shall stand beside him in the public stocks; they shall be pilloried forever in public shame as "the evil and traitorous persons who seduced him to his ruin by their false and malignant counsels."

The chief of these men, the leader of a great party, a senator of long standing, has announced to the country that there is a higher law than the constitution, which guarantees to each man the full exercise of his own inclination. The prisoner before you has simply acted on the law of Wm. H. Seward, and not the law of his fathers. He has followed the Mahomet of an incendiary faith.

Come forth, ye sages of abolitionism, who now cower and skulk under hasty denials of your complicity with the bloody result of your wicked and unholy doctrines, and take your places on the witness stand. Tell the world why this thing has happened. Tell this jury why they are trying John E. Cook for his life. You advised his conduct and taught him that he was doing right. You taught him a higher law and

then pointed out to him the field of action. Let facts be submitted. Mr. Seward, in speaking of slavery, says: "It can and must be abolished, and you and I must do it."

What worse did the prisoner attempt? Again, he said, upon this same subject, "Circumstances determine possibilities;" and doubtless the circumstance with which John Brown had connected his plans made them possible in his estimation, for it is in evidence before the country, unimpeached and uncontradicted, that the great senator of New York had the whole matter submitted to him, and only whispered back, in response, that he had better not have been told. He has boldly announced an irrepressible conflict between the free and slave States of this Union.

These seditious phrases, "higher law" and "irrepressible conflict," warrant and invite the construction which the prisoner and his young deluded companions placed upon them. Yet they are either in chains, with the frightful gibbet in full view, or sleep in dishonored graves, while the apostle and master-spirit of insurrection is loaded with honors, and fares sumptuously every day. Such is poor, short-handed justice in this world.

An old man, and for long years a member of the national Congress from Ohio, next shall testify here before you that he taught the prisoner the terrible error which now involves his life. Servile insurrection have forever been on the tongue and lips of Joshua R. Giddings. He says "that when the contest shall come, when the thunder shall roll and the lightning flash, and when the slaves shall rise in the South, in imitation of the horrid scenes of the West Indies, when the Southern man shall turn pale and tremble, when your dwellings shall smoke with the torch of the incendiary, and dismay sit on each countenance, he will hail it as the

approaching dawn of that political and moral millennium which he is well assured will come upon the world."

The atrocity of these sentiments chills the blood of honest patriots, and no part of the prisoner's conduct equals their bloody import. Shall the old leader escape and the young follower die? Shall the teacher, whose doctrines told the prisoner that what he did was right, go unscathed of the lightning which he has unchained? If so, Justice has fled from her temples on earth, and awaits us only on high to measure out what is right between man and man.

The men who have misled this boy to his ruin shall here receive my maledictions. They shrink back from him now in the hour of his calamity. They lift up their hands and say, Avaunt! to the bloody spectre which their infernal orgies have summoned up. You hear them all over the land ejaculating through false, pale, coward lips, "Thou canst not say I did it," when their hands are reeking with all the blood that has been shed and which yet awaits the extreme penalty of the law. False, fleeting, perjured traitors, false to friends as well as country, and perjured before the constitution of the Republic — ministers who profess to be of God who told this boy here to carry a Sharpe's rifle to Kansas instead of his mother's Bible — shall this jury, this court, and this country forget their guilt and their infamy because a victim to their precepts is yielding up his life before you?

May God forget me if I here, in the presence of this pale face, forget to denounce with the withering, blighting, blasting power of majestic truth, the tall and stately criminals of the Northern States of this Union.

The visionary mind of the prisoner heard from a member of congress from Massachusetts that a new constitution, a new Bible, and a new God were to be inaugurated and to

possess the country. They were to be new, because they were to be anti-slavery, for the old constitution, and the old Bible, and the God of our fathers, the ancient Lord God of Israel, the same yesterday, to-day, and forever, were not on the side of abolitionism.

Is there no mitigation for his doom in the fact that he took his life in his hand, and aimed at that which a coward taught him, but dared not himself attempt? Base, pusillanimous demagogues have led the prisoner to the bar, but while he suffers — if suffer he must — they, too, shall have their recreant limbs broken on the wheel.

I will not leave the soil of Virginia, I will not let this awful occasion pass into history, without giving a voice and an utterance to its true purport and meaning, without heaping upon its authors the load of execration which they are to bear henceforth and forever. Day after day and year after year has the baleful simoon of revolution, anarchy, discord, hostility to the South and her institutions, swept over that section of the country in which the lot of the prisoner has been cast. That he has been poisoned by its breath should not cut him off from human sympathy; rather should it render every heart-element toward him.

He never sought place or station, but sought merely to develop those doctrines which evil and traitorous persons have caused him to believe were true. Ministers, editors, and politicians — Beecher, Parker, Seward, Giddings, Sumner, Hale, and a host of lesser lights of each class — who in this court-room, who in this vast country, who in the wide world who shall read this trial believes them not guilty as charged in the indictment in all the counts to a deeper and far more fearful extent than John E. Cook. Midnight gloom is not more somber in contrast with the blazing light of the merid-

ian sun than is the guilt of such men in comparison with that which overwhelms the prisoner. They put in motion the maelstrom which has engulfed him. They started the torrent which has borne him over the precipice. They called forth from the caverns the tempest which wrecked him on a sunken reef.

Before God, and in the light of eternal truth, the disaster at Harper's Ferry is their act, and not his. May the ghost of each victim to their doctrines of disunion and abomination sit heavy on their guilty souls! May the fate of the prisoner, whatever it may be, disturb their slumbers and paralyze their arms when they are again raised against the peace of the country and the lives of its citizens!

I know by the gleam of each eye into which I look in this jury-box, that if these men could change places with young Cook, you would gladly say to him, "Go, erring and repentant youth, our vengeance shall fall on those who paid their money, urged on the attack, and guided the blow." Let me appeal to you, gentlemen of the jury, in the name of eternal truth and everlasting right, is nothing to be forgiven to youth, to inexperience, to a gentle, kind heart, to a wayward and peculiar though not vicious character, strangely apt to be led by present influences?

I have shown you what those influences, generally and specially, have been over the mind of the prisoner. I have shown you the malign influence of his direct leader. I have shown you, also, the "false and malignant counsels" in behalf of this sad enterprise, emanating from those in place, power, and position. It might have been your prodigal son borne away and seduced by such counsels, as well as my young client. Do with him as you would have your own child dealt by under like circumstances. He has been stolen

from the principles of his ancestors and betrayed from the teachings of his kindred. If he was your own handsome child, repentant and confessing his wrong to his country, what would you wish a jury of strangers to do? That do yourselves.

By that rule guide your verdict; and the poor boon of mercy will not be cut off from him. He thought the country was about to be convulsed; that the slave was pining for an opportunity to rise against his master; that two thirds of the laboring population of the country, north and south, would flock to the standard of revolt; that a single day would bring ten, fifty — yea, a hundred thousand men — to arms in behalf of the insurrection of the slaves. This is in evidence.

Who are responsible for such terribly false views? and what kind of a visionary and dreaming mind is that which has so fatally entertained them? That the prisoner's mind is pliant to the impressions, whether for good or for evil, by which it is surrounded, let his first interview in his prison with Governor Willard, in the presence of your senator, Colonel Mason, bear witness. His error was placed before him. His wrong to his family and his country was drawn by a patriotic, and, at the same time, an affectionate hand. His natural being at once asserted its sway. The influence of good, and not of evil, once more controlled him as in the days of his childhood; and now here before you he has the merit at least of a loyal citizen, making all the atonement in his power for the wrong which he has committed. That he has told strictly the truth in his statement is proven by every word of evidence in this cause.

Gentlemen, you have this case. I surrender into your hands the issues of life and death. As long as you live, a more important case than this you will never be called to try.

Consider it, therefore, well in all its bearings. I have tried to show you those facts which go to palliate the conduct of the prisoner. Shall I go home and say that in justice you remembered not mercy to him? Leave the door of clemency open; do not shut it by a wholesale conviction. Remember that life is an awful and a sacred thing; remember that death is terrible — terrible at any time, and in any form.

> "Come to the bridal chamber, Death!
> Come when the mother feels
> For the first time, her first-born's breath;
> Come when the blessed seals
> That close the pestilence are broke,
> And crowded cities wail its stroke;
> Come in consumption's ghastly form,
> The earthquake's shock, the ocean's storm;
> Come when the heart beats high and warm
> With banquet song, and dance, and wine,
> And thou art terrible. The groan,
> The knell, the pall, the bier,
> And all we know, or dream, or fear
> Of agony, are thine."

But when to the frightful mien of the grim monster, when to the chill visage of the spirit of the glass and scythe, is added the hated, dreaded spectre of the gibbet, we turn shuddering from the accumulated horror. God spare this boy, and those who love him, from such a scene of woe.

I part from you now, and most likely forever. When we next meet — when I next look upon your faces and you on mine — it will be in that land and before that Tribunal where the only plea that will save you or me from a worse fate than awaits the prisoner, will be mercy. Charity is the paramount virtue; all else is as sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal. Charity suffereth long, and is kind. Forbid it not to come into your deliberation; and, when your last hour comes, the memory that you allowed it to plead for your erring brother, John E. Cook, will brighten your passage over the dark river, and rise by your side as an interceding angel in that day when

your trial as well as his shall be determined by a just but merciful God.

I thank the court and you, gentlemen, for your patient kindness, and I am done.

ON THE WELFARE OF THE NATION

DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, MARCH 9, 1864

MR. CHAIRMAN,—I arise to address the House to-day with feelings of profound depression and gloom. It is a melancholy spectacle to behold a free government die. The world it is true is filled with the evidences of decay. All nature speaks the voice of dissolution, and the highway of history and of life is strewn with the wrecks which time, the great despoiler, has made.

But hope of the future, bright visions of reviving glory are nowhere denied to the heart of man save as he gazes upon the downfall of legal liberty. He listens sorrowfully to the autumn winds as they sigh through dismantled forests, but he knows that their breath will be soft and vernal in the spring, and that the dead flowers and the withered foliage will blossom and bloom again. He sees the sky overcast with the angry frown of the tempest, but he knows that the sun will reappear, and the stars, the bright emblazonry of God, cannot perish.

Man himself, this strange connecting link between dust and deity, totters wearily onward under the weight of years and pain toward the gaping tomb, but now briefly his mind lingers around that dismal spot. It is filled with tears and grief, and the willow and the cypress gather around it with their loving, but mournful embrace.

And is this all? Not so. If a man die shall he not live again? Beyond the grave, in the distant Aiden, hope provides an elysium of the soul where the mortal assumes immortality and life becomes an endless splendor.

But where, sir, in all the dreary regions of the past, filled with convulsions, wars, and crimes, can you point your finger to the tomb of a free commonwealth on which the angel of resurrection has ever descended or from whose mouth the stone of despotism has ever been rolled away? Where, in what age and in what clime, have the ruins of constitutional freedom renewed their youth and regained their lost estate? By whose strong grip has the dead corpse of a republic once fallen ever been raised?

The merciful master who walked upon the waters and bade the winds be still left no ordained apostles with power to wrench apart the jaws of national death and release the victims of despotism. The wail of the heart-broken over the dead is not so sad to me as the realization of this fact.

But all history, with a loud unbroken voice, proclaims it, and the evidence of what the past has been is conclusive to my mind of what the future will be. Wherever in the wide domain of human conduct a people once possessed of liberty, with all power in their own hands, have surrendered these great gifts of God at the command of the usurper they have never afterwards proven themselves worthy to regain their forfeited treasures.

Sir, let history speak on this point. Bend your ear, and listen to the solemn warnings which distant ages perpetually utter in their uneasy slumbers. Four thousand years of human experience are open and present for the study of the American people. Standing as we do the last and greatest republic in the midst of the earth, it becomes us most deeply

in this crisis of our destiny to examine well the career and the final fate of kindred governments in the past.

The principles of self-government are of ancient origin. They were not created by the authors of the American constitution. . . . The sword has been thrown into the scales of justice, and there is not this hour a court between the two oceans left free to decide the laws as they have uniformly been decided in England and America for the last two hundred years. The very foundations of civilized jurisprudence have been torn away, and the whole edifice is in ruins. The Magna Charta is erased; the habeas corpus is dead; the very soul and spirit of liberty is extinguished in the forum of the judiciary. To this sacred sanctuary, more than to any other department of the government, the blessings of liberty were entrusted. But has the present administration made them secure? It is required to do so by the terms of the constitution. Let each mind give its own answer. Not one right which constitutes the freedom and safety of the citizen but what has been wickedly and wantonly violated. Prisons filled without indictment and without warrant; long and bitter punishment inflicted without trial or conviction; the whole jury system abolished by a stroke of the pen in the hand of the Executive, or his subordinates in crime; no witnesses brought to the face of the accused; no counsel permitted to appear in his behalf; his house broken open and his papers searched in the midst of his pallid and terrified wife and children; such are some of the evidences which exist on every hand that our free institutions are hastening to their overthrow. And not content with breaking down all the ancient safeguards of liberty, new and malignant measures of legislation have been continually devised by a slavish Congress by which to more effectually reach, and torture, and

grind the citizen. The most innocent conduct, a harmless word, a simple look has been enacted into guilt. The hired hounds of arbitrary power find conspiracy and crime in the friendly greetings of neighbors on their farms. Speaking of the period of 1795 in England, that great modern philosopher, Henry Thomas Buckle, in his "History of Civilization," uses the following language, which I adopt as faithfully descriptive of the conduct of the party now in power, and of the times in which we live.

"Nothing, however, could stop the government in its headlong career. The ministers, secure of a majority in both Houses of Parliament, were able to carry their measures in defiance of the people, who opposed them by every mode short of actual violence. And as the object of these new laws was to check the spirit of inquiry and prevent reforms which the progress of society rendered indispensable, there were also brought into play other means subservient to the same end. It is no exaggeration to say that for some years England was ruled by a system of absolute terror. The ministers of the day, turning a struggle of party into a war of proscription, filled the prisons with their political opponents, and allowed them when in confinement to be treated with shameful severity. If a man was known to be a reformer he was constantly in danger of being arrested; and if he escaped that, he was watched at every turn, and his private letters were opened as they passed through the postoffice. In such cases no scruples were allowed. Even the confidence of domestic life was violated. No opponent of government was safe under his own roof against the tales of eavesdroppers and the gossip of servants. Discord was introduced into the bosom of families, and schisms caused between parents and their children. Not only were the most strenuous attempts made to silence the press, but the booksellers were so constantly prosecuted that they did not dare to publish a work if its author were obnoxious to the court. Indeed, whoever opposed the government was proclaimed an enemy to his country. Political associations and public meetings were

strictly forbidden. Every popular leader was in personal danger, and every popular assemblage was dispersed. either by threats or by military execution. That hateful machinery familiar to the worst days of the seventeenth century, was put into motion Spies were paid; witnesses were suborned; juries were packed. The coffee-houses, the inns, and the clubs were filled with emissaries of the government, who reported the most hasty expressions of common conversation. If by these means no sort of evidence could be collected, there was another resource which was unsparingly used. For, the habeas corpus act being constantly suspended, the Crown had the power of imprisoning without inquiry and without limitation any person offensive to the ministry, but of whose crime no proof was attempted to be brought."

Sir, why are you, why am I out of the vaults of a dungeon, and standing on this floor to-day? Not because we are guilty of no offence; not because the broad shield of the law interposes its protection, but simply because the Executive has not yet seen fit and proper in the exercise of his absolute and unrestrained will to lay us in irons. This is the ultimate climax of despotic power. Each one of the twenty millions of people within the control of the United States holds his or her tenure to personal liberty — the right to walk the green earth, to breathe the air, and look at the sun — not by virtue of a free constitution, but dependent upon the clemency and pleasure of one man. May I not be arrested to-night? May not you or any one else to-morrow? Has it not been done in more than a thousand instances, and have not the courts, and the laws been powerless to save? While I am now speaking, may not some minion who licks the hand of power, and whom it would honor to call a slave, be preparing notes from which to testify against me before a military commission? Have we in the West forgotten Burnside, and the infamy of his reign in our midst? Will the inhabitants of the western circuit

in England ever forget the monster Jeffries and the murder of Alice Lisle? Will some poor, crawling, despised sycophant and tool of executive despotism dare to say that I shall not pronounce the name of Vallandigham? The scandal and stigma of his condemnation and banishment have filled the civilized world; and the Lethean and oblivious waves of a thousand years will not wash away the shame and reproach of that miserable scene from the American name. Some members on the other side of this chamber have attacked with fierce clamor the great American statesman and the Christian gentleman who suffers his exile in the cause of liberty on a foreign soil. So the basest cur that ever kennelled may bay, at the bidding of his master, the caged lion in the distance. Protract this iniquity, this crime, as long as you will, however, the judgment of history will at last overwhelm you with an insufferable odium, as certainly as the streams of truth emanate from beneath the great white throne of God. "Establish justice!" "Secure the blessings of liberty!" Oh! bitter mockery. Justice has been dethroned and the blessings of liberty annihilated. There is not one square mile of free soil in the American Republic. It is slave territory from the Aroostook to the Columbia. Every man in all that vast expanse may be reduced in an instant to hopeless bondage, every home may be broken open and pillaged, every dollar's worth of property may be swept into that yawning and bottomless gulf — the national treasury; and all under the sanction of the principles and practices daily exemplified by the administration which now hurls us on to ruin.

But the "domestic tranquillity," has it been insured? When the present party came into power the road to an honorable peace on the basis of the Union was still open. Before the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln his friends and supporters

held the issues of life and death, peace and war in their hands in this capitol. The records of the last session of the 36th Congress are immortal. They cannot perish; and as the woes and calamities of the people thicken and magnify by the frightful war in which we are engaged, they increase in value to posterity more rapidly than the leaves of the Sybilline book. The baleful brood of political destructionists who now unhappily possess the high seats of national authority did not then want public tranquillity. They invoked the storm which has since rained blood upon the land. They courted the whirlwind which has prostrated the progress of a century in ruins. They danced with a hellish glee around the bubbling cauldron of civil war and welcomed with ferocious joy every hurtful mischief which flickered in its lurid and infernal flames. Compromise, which has its origin in the love and mercy of God; which made peace and ratified the treaty on Calvary between heaven and the revolted and rebellious earth; which is the fundamental basis of all human association, and by which all governments the world ever knew have been created and upheld; compromise, which fools pronounce a treasonable word, and skillful knaves cover with reproach, because they are enriching themselves at the expense of the national sorrow and blood, was discarded by the North and accepted by the South when offered by Mr. Crittenden. By it domestic tranquillity could have been ensured. But an ulterior and destructive spirit ruled the hour and flooded the nation with misery. And since the breaking up of the fountains of the great deep who of this party have labored to tranquillize our disordered affairs? Who has endeavored, in the name of Christ and by the omnipotent power of the principles which he left his Father's throne to proclaim and for which he drank the wormwood and the gall on the cross, to

expel the cruel and ferocious demon of civil war that has howled so fiercely for the last three years among the tombs of our young and heroic dead? Not one, sir; not one. Wise and Christian measures, looking to reconciliation and peace and union, have been repeatedly spurned by the Executive and this legislative department which he holds in duress. At no distant day, when the horror of this war can no longer be borne, the various propositions which have been made and rejected in behalf of enlightened negotiation and a constitutional restoration will be gathered up and hurled at those in power as an accusation more appalling, an indictment more damning, than was ever levelled against a murderer upon his trial. Nor can they, in that hour of their fear and calamity at which the righteous world will laugh and mock, hide their guilty heads under the assertion that the South will not treat for peace; yes, peace which shall restore the Union under the constitution as it was written by the fathers, and as it has been interpreted by the supreme judicial tribunals. Why came that wasted figure, that gifted child of genius, the pure and elevated Stephens, of Georgia, from Richmond on his way to this capitol in the midsummer of 1863? Was it a trifling cause that moved him? All the world knows that his judgment and his heart clung fondly and to the last to the old government, in whose councils he had won so much honor. It is equally well known that he has never embraced the suicidal doctrine of State secession. The right of revolution is the ground upon which he stands. The malignant portion of the Southern press, too, such mischievous and damaging prints as the "Examiner and Inquirer" at Richmond, and the "Register" at Mobile, who continually cripple the interests and friends of humanity in this baleful contest, assailed Mr. Stephens for his attempt at negotiation, which they

averred would lead to reunion. Yet, with these things well known, and perhaps much more, which now slumbers in the secret drawers of the Executive, this great messenger of peace, this most acceptable mediator between an estranged and misled people, was denied a hearing — turned back in silence; and the festival of death commanded to proceed. The book of time in all its ample folds contains no more inhuman or revolting spectacle. Those who love war for the mere sake of war, when the same objects can be better attained by the gentle and holy influences of peace, are monsters of such frightful depravity that the blackest of those murdering ministers, "who in their sightless substance wait on nature's mischief," appear as angels of light and benevolence in the comparison.

Sir, I will not here pause to dwell in detail on the usages of civilized nations in conducting civilized warfare. But I challenge history, that "reverend chronicler of the grave," whether in its sacred or profane records, to produce a parallel to the spirit and temper with which the party now in power has conducted the awful struggle in which we are engaged. Commence at the early daybreak of the world, traverse all time, and explore all space, grope your way among the vast hecatombs of all former wars, examine the gory stains of every battle plain, ransack the archives of kings, cabinets, and councils, and no instance, not one, can be found where a people claiming Christian civilization has waged a war of any kind against any foe in dumb, ferocious silence, without a word, a sign, or a look in behalf of a peaceful solution as long as we have now been engaged in this cruel conflict. "Blessed are the peace-makers," was not spoken for the present administrators of American affairs. They spurn the examples and teachings of all Christian ages. . . .

Sir, what is this contest? On the part of those who have kept their allegiance, it is a struggle to maintain the boundaries of the Republic, and thus defeat the ruinous doctrine that a State has a right to secede. On the part of those in rebellion, it is an effort, in their estimation, to preserve the integrity of their local laws, their social institutions, the right to control their domestic affairs free from federal interference. With some, this attempt is made under a claim of the right of secession; others proclaim a revolution, which is the right of all people if grievances sufficient exist as a justification. But the people of the South are united in the objects at which they aim, and if they could be attained in the Union, and without war, would they not gladly embrace and accept them rather than continue in a state of endless hostility, which is destroying the very interests they seek to protect? Why, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Garfield] declared a few days ago on this floor, that if the privates of the opposing armies in the field were permitted to come together in peace, they would speedily remove all our troubles; and yet he spoke and voted in favor of taking from even the wives and children of the Southern masses, who he asserts, are thus willing to return to the Union, the last foot of soil, and the last crust of bread by which life is sustained. With such evidence then as this can we justify ourselves before God or man if we fail to respond to the action of the South in favor of negotiation, which promises in advance such happy results? Let all grievances, whether fancied or real, be considered by candid statesmanship. Let there be safe and unrepealable guarantees adopted against those that are found to be real; and those that are fancied will be easily explained away. Five enlightened commissioners from each section, imbued with the spirit of

Christian benevolence, animated by an unselfish love of country and of their fellow men, meeting by the consent and encouragement of their respective authorities, could, and in my solemn and deliberate judgment would, in ninety days agree upon terms which would be acceptable to a large majority of the American people, and by which the Union of these States would be more firmly established than ever before — the lives of millions spared, the hard earnings of the laborer left for him to enjoy, peace and domestic tranquillity restored. I would improve the armistice which winter declares to achieve many bloodless and permanent victories in favor of the Union and the constitution. I would not stop there. I would extend the armistice as long as there was hope of inducing the return of a single State. But suppose negotiation should fail. Then, indeed, would this administration be armed with an argument in favor of war which it has never yet possessed. This fact is well understood by the Executive and his advisers, but they refuse to negotiate because they have reason to believe that the Union would thus be restored and the war ended. But slavery would not thereby be abolished, and the scheme of building up a despotic, centralized federal government would be defeated. The war, therefore, goes on; the young men of the nation are swept into their graves upon the plain of battle, and the old men become slaves to the tax gatherer, not to restore the Union, but to give a worthless liberty to the black man, and to strike down the legal rights and privileges of the white man.

Sir, upon this question of negotiation, concession, compromise and union, I appeal for approval to my own conscience. It sustains me with all the force of a burning conviction of duty. By it I am lifted beyond the reach of

partisan malice. I appeal to the people! The voice and humane instincts of honest nature will plead my cause in their hearts. At their hands I fear no evil for the country. They are just and will appreciate a plain and inherent element of right. I appeal to future years. When candor, reason and Christianity sit in judgment on this struggle, every line which records the history of war or peace in all former ages, tells me that their verdict will be in favor of the principles which I advocate. I seize this hour of future triumph by anticipation. That it will come I entertain no more doubt than I do that I breathe the air of life this moment. I appeal, finally, to God before whom I stand, and into whose presence we all hasten to answer for our conduct and our motives. In that awful hour I humbly trust and believe that my feeble efforts to turn aside the devouring edge of the sword; to stay the hand of the great reaper, death; to pause in the horrid work of sending souls to their eternal account without repentance or pardon; to stop bereavement, woe, and tears around every fireside; to brighten the mournful face of the land with the radiance of peace; to reconstruct and restore a fraternal and harmonious Union will meet with the approval of the Father and go far toward relieving the newly liberated and trembling spirit of the terrors which surround it.

But, Mr. Chairman, what other declared purposes of the constitution for the accomplishment of which this government was established have been carried out by the policy and administration of the party now in power? Do they "promote the general welfare?" With the principles of justice everywhere suppressed, the blessing of liberty annihilated throughout all our borders, and the domestic tranquillity utterly destroyed, it is almost needless to inquire what is left

to constitute the general welfare. But it is my painful duty on this occasion not only to show that the principles of free government are dying, rapidly dying before our faces, but that the material prosperity, the absolute physical resources of the country are perishing also. The welfare, the strength, and glory of a nation are dependent in a vast measure upon the extent of its population and the amount of its wealth. Next to the virtue and intelligence of the people their numbers constitute the power and dignity of a State. The ancient commandment and the blessing delivered to the original founders of the human race was to be fruitful, multiply, and replenish the earth. And one of the richest promises to the Patriarchs of old was that their tribes and their descendants should increase until they became as the leaves of the forest and the sands of the seashore. Every public ruler who by wise political and social economy has rapidly swelled the population of his country, holds a place in history as a benefactor of his kind. Every human being is a machine of labor. Each head and each hand is a producer. The busy brain and the active muscle are perpetually adding to the storehouses, the granaries, and the merchant-ships of the world. It was a blessing and not a curse; it was in mercy and not in wrath that man was commanded to eat his bread in the sweat of his face. By obedience to this command the glory of civilization adorns the earth, and commerce penetrates the most distant seas. The fulfilment of this decree redeems the savage face of nature, builds up the great marts of trade, patronizes sciences and letters, erects temples to art and progress, and is a forerunner of the Christian faith. Labor is the fountain of all wealth, and of all happiness. Nations and individuals are alike utterly and entirely dependent upon it for their prosperity. And national pros-

perity is simply the result of individual labor. The humble and obscure toil of the honest ploughman, who,

"Homeward plods his weary way"

at nightfall, is the source of all the nation's greatness, the foundation of all its vast enterprises, the support of all its boasted revenues; it is the small spring breaking into a rivulet from the hill side, which flowing on and mingling with the other waters of its kindred at last swells into an ocean on whose bosom the destinies of the world are determined. . . .

Sir, I take leave of the question of the "general welfare." The bitter hour of a people's bloody sweat and agonizing tears will soon be here. The mournful shadows of its funeral pall are already penetrating the once bright and abundant homes of virtuous labor. The spirit of oppression is omnipresent in the land, and, like death and famine, none will escape the pangs which it inflicts. Let each eye which now beholds the sun take its last look at scenes of plenty and prosperity. Our fall from bounding wealth and unlimited resources to pinched and shrunken poverty and cowering bankruptcy, is as certain and as fatal under our present policy as the fall of Lucifer, the morning star, from heaven. And the exclamation of the laborer as he toils in a hopeless bondage to the public debt may well be as despairing as the anguish of the lost angel:

"Farewell happy fields,—
Where joy forever dwells. Hail horrors, hail
Infernal world, and thou, profoundest Hell,
Receive thy new possessor."

And, now, Mr. Chairman, what else remains? What portion of the constitution can yet be found alive? What principle has been spared, preserved, or protected by the

destroyers who rule the nation? Have they provided for the common defence against foreign powers? The Emperor of France tramples the Monroe doctrine disdainfully under his feet. He overthrows the Republic of Mexico, and on its ruins erects an imperial despotism in immediate contact with our borders. A prince of the house of Hapsburg, trained in the courts of Austrian oppression, becomes our closest neighbor. Perhaps it is needless to complain of this near example of one-man power — this European head wearing a crown on North American soil. It will not be long if our present career is unchecked until the terms dictator, king and emperor will be as familiar in Washington as in the palace of St. Cloud.

But, sir, the saddest question embraced within the scope of my remarks, remains to be answered as I draw them to a close. Has the policy pursued for the last three years resulted in the formation of "a more perfect Union?"

No language that the tongue of man can utter would form so expressive an answer to such a question as a silent survey of the dreadful scene which lies before us. A gulf of blood and tears and all of human agony which the afflicted race of man can know this side of the dread abodes of the damned, divides the suffering and miserable sections of a once fraternal and contented people. Statesmen of Christian faith, imbued with the lofty spirit of him who gave his blessing to the merciful, could again span this horrid chasm and bind together the torn and bleeding ligaments of the Union. But an evil star is raging in our sky, and under its malign power the legislation of the land appears as the frenzied, murderous, disjointed dreams of a madman in his cell. Such a penal code as now stands in the way of the return of the men, women and children of the South to their allegiance, has no

parallel in the annals of the human race. A thousand miles of gibbets with the dangling halter and the ready executioner; universal confiscation of property to the remotest period of an innocent posterity; the absolute extermination of a whole people and the appropriation of the depopulated country to the unsparing demands of a more than Norman conquest; the utter extinction of every vestige of our present form of government by States, all this and infinitely more is contained in the enactments which already stain the records of American legislation. But why need I dwell upon these evidences of disunion? The great leader of the administration on this floor, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Stevens] has deliberately here announced after all our sacrifices, sorrows, and loss, that the Union of our fathers is dead, and that he who attempts its resurrection is a criminal instead of a patriot. He goes further and admits all the seceded States have ever claimed — their nationality. They have sought in vain in all the four quarters of the earth for recognition. They find it at last at the hands of those who speak for the administration on this floor.

Sir, I deny this doctrine. I plant myself on the constitution which recognizes an unbroken Union. I shall stand there in every vicissitude of fortune, and if I fall it will be when the people themselves abandon their own constitution. By the principles of this mighty instrument I expect finally a restoration of the Union of the States. Every hour which the party of power prolongs its control of affairs, postpones the auspicious day, but as I behold the future, it will assuredly come. Material and indestructible interests unite every section, except that which prospers on fanaticism. And I here to-day, in the spirit of one who expects and desires his posterity and theirs to live together in the ancient

and honorable friendship of their fathers, warn the Southern people not to look forward to separation and independence, but to embrace every opportunity for co-operation with the conservative men of the North, who will aid with their lives, if need be, to secure them all their rights and institutions as free and equal citizens of the United States. If this be done, the approaching presidential election will bring peace, union and liberty. But if the peaceful popular revolution of the ballot-box fails to produce these results, then darkness will settle upon the face of the deep, and the free institutions of America will exist only on the page of the future historian. Four years more of our present policy will leave the Republic an unshapen mass of ruins — a wreck more melancholy and hopeless than any that strew the pathway of ages. And here, in this fair young western world, as in all former times, a despotism will arise from the shattered fragments of self-government, to which each succeeding generation shall pay the extorted tribute of its blood and toil.

SIR Wm. V. HARCOURT

THE RIGHT HON. SIR WILLIAM VERNON HARCOURT, P. C., M. P., a distinguished English Liberal statesman, the grandson of a former archbishop of York, was born Oct. 14, 1827, and educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he had a brilliant career. Called to the Bar of the Inner Temple, London, in 1854, he became Queen's Counsel in 1866, professor of international law at Cambridge University in 1869, and solicitor-general, 1873–74. He entered Parliament as Liberal member for Oxford in 1868, and was Secretary of State for the home department in 1880. On the fall of the Liberal party, in 1885, he went out of office, but on its return to power in January, 1886, he was made chancellor of the exchequer, to which post he was again appointed in 1892. From 1880 to 1895 he represented Derby in the House of Commons, but has since sat for West Monmouthshire. In Parliament, he has long been ranked among the ablest speakers and vigorous debaters, as well as an impressive orator, his oration upon Gladstone before the Commons being especially memorable. His budget of 1894, which created a great sensation on its appearance, is usually accounted his greatest achievement. In 1899, he retired from the Liberal leadership and now sits in the House as a private member. He was one of the original contributors to the "Saturday Review," and his "Historicus" letters on international law to the "Review," and the "Times" were collected in a volume in 1883. Sir William has been conspicuous in the Commons for his defence of Irish Home Rule.

OUR NATIONAL POSITION

SPEECH DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON AUGUST 1, 1900, ON THE SECOND READING OF THE SUPPLEMENTAL WAR LOAN BILL

WE HAVE now come to the last supplementary estimate of this Session, although anybody would be extremely rash to say that we have come to the last supplementary estimate of the present financial year. But, as this Session will be recorded as one of the most memorable financial chapters in the history of the Parliament, I think that this is the proper opportunity for taking

some note of what have been the incidents of its financial procedure.

But before I advert to earlier matters I have some explanations to ask of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. We have had what are practically three financial statements, three fragmentary Budgets—one before the financial year was complete, one when the financial year was completed, and another after the financial year was completed. Now, I have endeavoured to make what I believe the theologians call a harmony between the right hon. gentleman's gospels, with, I am sorry to say, very imperfect success. I have over and over again, with as much care as I have been able to devote to the subject, endeavoured to ascertain what the actual cost of this war was, what the estimated cost of this war was, and what is the financial provision that has been made for it. Upon not one of those heads have I been able to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion. I observe that originally the right hon. gentleman, in his first Budget speech in March, put the estimated cost of the war at £60,000,000. That was repeated, I think, afterwards, in April; the Under-Secretary for War gave it some weeks ago in stating the estimates to which this Bill is a corollary; and last night, I see by the papers, the right hon. gentleman said that the present cost had been £42,000,000. I want to have an explanation upon these points. The provision that has been made for the war, according to the right hon. gentleman, up to the time of this Bill is defective by £8,500,000. (Sir M. Hicks-Beach: No.) I am going to read to the right hon. gentleman what his words were. He said in his speech, when he was introducing this matter, that "he required, out of the £13,000,000 he asked for, £8,500,000 for what he might call South African purposes connected directly or indirectly with the un-

happy prolongation of the war." Therefore, what provision has been made before this Bill was, according to this statement, insufficient to the amount of £8,500,000? Whether correct or not, those are the words. What I want to know is, is that sum to be added to the £60,000,000 which upon repeated occasions has been stated to be the estimate of the cost of the war? If so, the provision for the estimated cost of the war would be nearer 70 than 60 millions. My hon. friend the member for Carnarvon asked a question, to which he got no intelligible reply, and I have tried as hard as I could to understand from these triple statements what is the view of the Chancellor of the Exchequer himself upon this subject. But then, in the same statement, the right hon. gentleman said, "We have got £6,000,000 in hand." Then, if you have £6,000,000 in hand for the particular purpose, you do not want £8,500,000 in addition; one would suppose that what you really want is £2,500,000 in addition to what you have got in hand. I desire to know whether the right hon. gentleman really does want, in addition to the £6,000,000 which he says he has got in hand, £8,500,000, or whether he wants the balance between the £6,000,000 he has in hand and the £8,500,000. For what I want to ascertain is this—not so much what has been spent up to this time, for that is not material, but what out of the taxation of the country has, independent of this Bill, been granted by Parliament to the expenses of the war. That is the first fact I want to get at.

I will try to state what the position is so far as I can ascertain it from the figures before us. In his first Budget speech the right hon. gentleman said there was an estimate of £23,270,000 for the South African war, and of this he said £5,500,000 would be met from what he then estimated would

be the surplus of last year. This surplus then, according to his Budget statement, was to form part of the provision for the cost of the war. Then, later on, he found he had a much larger surplus and consequently less deficit to meet in the coming year. He said, "I have got £5,500,000 and have £23,000,000 to meet, therefore the deficiency is £17,000,000." But then, having a larger surplus by about £4,000,000, the deficit became £13,000,000, and not £17,000,000 as he had estimated. What I want to make clear is that he treated the surplus of last year as part of the cost of the war, which surplus turned out to be near upon ten millions. Then in March the right hon. gentleman, dealing with the finances of this year, said he expected to have a deficiency of £20,000,000, but in consequence of the anticipation of payments to the revenue he found afterwards that though the deficit was £4,000,000 less in the preceding year it was £2,000,000 more in the present year, and the consequence was that altogether there was a deficit £2,000,000 less than was anticipated in March. Finally, in his statement on what may be taken as the corrected estimates, the hight hon. gentleman said his position in April was that he had a margin of £1,127,000 and borrowing powers, not then employed, of £5,000,000. That was what he had in hand to deal with. That was the statement in April last. I want to know what has become of that £6,000,000? The right hon. gentleman stated in April that he had taken the odd million—not on any definite estimate, for it was difficult to make an estimate—he took the odd million as a margin, with the borrowing powers for £5,000,000, to meet contingencies that might arise after April; the return of troops, I suppose, among other contingencies, but specifically he included reserve of ammunition necessary in consequence of the waste of the war. Then we

have got the right hon. gentleman with his estimates, so far as he could make them, for the war to its conclusion. He still adheres, I believe, to the belief that the whole thing will be wound up in September, therefore there is nothing that should alter his calculations. He having made his estimates for the war to September and not having used the £6,000,000 balance, comes now and says he wants £13,000,000, of which £8,500,000 are for purposes of the war. These various statements are difficult to reconcile, but, as far as I can understand, the provision for the war up to this time stands thus.

In the first place there was a surplus last year of £10,000,000 in round figures which would have been expended in reduction of debt, but was devoted to purposes of the war. Then there was £4,600,000 which would have gone this year to the Sinking Fund, but was suspended. Then there was an estimated margin this year, upwards of £1,000,000. I think £1,125,000. Then there is taxation—"a small quantity of bread to a great deal of sack"—amounting in its ultimate yield to £12,000,000. Then there were the Treasury Bills raised last year and renewed to the amount of £8,000,000. Then the war loan of £30,000,000. Then there are the extra borrowing powers of £5,000,000, which he said he hoped he would not want to use, but he has these in hand. Now what does all this amount to? To £71,000,000 as the provision in hand or employed for the war. Well, on the top of that, the right hon. gentleman comes this week and asks in terms for £8,500,000 more in respect of the war. Now without some explanation there is confusion in the figures. From one sentence in the right hon. gentleman's speech the other night I gather that he has got £6,000,000 in hand to set against £13,000,000. Why then does he want

£13,000,000? Why does he ask for the additional amount, specifically for the war?

Of course, what I have said is subject to any explanation the Chancellor of the Exchequer may give us; but I do submit that, when we have three financial statements difficult to reconcile, the House of Commons before giving a third reading to this Bill, if it is to have any control over the taxation expenditure and debt of the country, should have a clear statement in the form of a Parliamentary paper laid before it showing exactly the estimated cost, the actual cost, and the provision made for the war. This ought not to be left to loose statements that my intellect, at all events, finds difficult in reconciling one with the other, and I think this is not an unreasonable demand which I hope the right hon. gentleman will consider. It is quite plain that somehow or other he wants more money. Well, that is a position which in a state of war in several parts of the world is with a Chancellor of the Exchequer not an unusual one, and so with a little coy reluctance the right hon. gentleman tells us he is going to borrow. It has been said of lying that it is an abomination, but a very present help in time of trouble—a moral situation which is equally true of borrowing.

The courage of our soldiers is as of yore, the courage of our financiers is not of the same character. We fought with the same energy in the Russian war at a cost of 60 or 70 millions. Fifty years ago our politicians and statesmen were, of course, far inferior to those of the present day, but they had some financial conscience and some financial courage, and out of this £70,000,000 they provided £35,000,000 from taxation. We, so much wiser in our generation, provide only £12,000,000 from taxation; they provided half, we provide less than a fifth. Different times have brought

different manners. This is the situation. The people of this country are willing to give their services and their lives; but there is one thing Her Majesty's Government shrink from demanding—their money. There is one thing will not bear the test of dissolution—that is, taxation. The right hon. gentleman wants to borrow £13,000,000, but he has £6,000,000 in hand, and the amount should be £7,000,000, not £13,000,000. Assuming the borrowing, I approve his declaration that he will not make it a permanent borrowing, that he will earmark it as a temporary loan. That shows that, as far as circumstances admit, the Chancellor of the Exchequer has a sound financial conscience, and he has done it for this purpose—he desires to point out to the Chancellor of the Exchequer of that future day that at the earliest moment he is to make a provision for the redemption of the loan. An excellent principle! I only hope he may be that Chancellor of the Exchequer and that he will act upon it. Then he says that the provision for the redemption of the loan is to form a part of the first financial statement after the war in South Africa is happily over. That will be next April.

The war, he says, will be over in September, and we shall have the financial statement as to the liquidation of the debt next April. How is it going to be provided according to his view? He says that he is sanguine of recovering the cost from the Transvaal. But the Transvaal contains two populations. From which of the two is he going to recover it? Does he expect to recover £40,000,000 from the Boers? I daresay the right hon. gentleman would like to do it, but, no doubt, he is familiar with the old proverb that you cannot get more out of a cat than its skin; and if he thinks that in the present condition of the Boers in the Transvaal he is

going to recover from them the money he borrows, I think he will be disappointed, and I do not think that is a hopeful prospect to extend to the taxpayers of this country. Does he expect to get it from his friends the Uitlanders? The Uitlanders in these circumstances would be no more satisfied with their new than with their late administration. He says he is sanguine that because the mines are uninjured this money will be paid by the mine-owners of the Rand. If he thinks he is going to get out of them the money that has been spent on this war I must be excused from veiling my opinion on the subject in a learned language—Credat Judaeus Apella. The Judaeus of South Africa is a sagacious and wary personage.

The right hon. gentleman next says that he wants the liberty of borrowing. With his present majority he is a chartered libertine, and they give him, I have no doubt, what he desires. I agree that in the present state of the money market he ought to be able to pay his money and take his choice. How much money he will have to pay when he makes his choice I do not think my hon. friend opposite (Mr. Cohen) will be able to tell him. He will not touch Consols. He is quite right there. A year or two ago every one was in a panic about the high price of Consols. It was said that there never was such a disaster as in having Consols at 114 and 115. There were alarmists who said that they would rise to 150, and then where should we be? As long as I was responsible for the finances of the country I could never see that the high price of public credit was a public injury. We had all kinds of alarms about the Savings Banks, and it was said that if you get Consols up to this high price we must have a revolution in the Savings Banks legislation.

This panic even affected my friends at the Treasury, and

when it was necessary to justify the cutting down of the Sinking Fund, the excuse was the terrible price of the Consols in which you had to invest. Nothing more childish or more ridiculous was ever put forward in a solemn Government memorandum. I consoled my alarmist friends by saying, "Do not be too timid; you enjoy an Administration which will soon bring the Consols down." But speaking of Consols at 115, there are persons who believe that the thermometer is always to be at 93 deg. in the shade. I have great confidence myself in the vicissitudes of the seasons, and the right hon. gentleman has been equal to the occasion. He has got Consols down to 97, and it is possible that he will rival the First Lord of the Admiralty who succeeded in getting them down to 95. I think we shall hear no more of the Savings Banks Bill which has come to an untimely birth, and that there will be no difficulty in investing the savings of the country at a depreciated price in Consols. The right hon. gentleman is quite right not to touch Consols. I do not think there is any man who can tell him what the price would be if he issued £13,000,000 to-morrow. Then he shies a little at the war loan.

The right hon. gentleman is a most generous antagonist, and he has testified to the value of the services that I rendered to him with respect to the war loan. It is true that it was a confidential communication, but in these days of the new diplomacy the natural place which a Cabinet Minister chooses for a confidential communication is at the Mansion-house in a speech addressed to the bankers. There he was good enough to recognise that by my contribution of £100 I had greatly supported the loan of £30,000,000. I have to confess that, out of personal regard for the right hon. gentleman and in my interest for the well-being of the

country, I was not unwilling to risk that considerable sum. Like a generous man he is thankful for a small mercy, and I am glad that I should have rendered him that assistance; and if I did good by stealth I do not blush to find it fame. I must confess to the right hon. gentlemen that my object was not exclusively patriotic. I had another object. I wished to have my own personal barometer by which I could test the exact value of his financial arrangements. During the high tide of enthusiasm for this war I told him that I thought he had put the price too low, and that he might easily have got half a million more than he did. That was some weeks ago; but things have a good deal changed in the last few weeks. People do not seem to be so keen about the war loan as they were; and the loan which was at a high premium then is at a considerable discount now. I watch its fortunes with much interest, and the result of that investment; and I agree with the right hon. gentleman that he had much better not try his luck at another slice of war loan, because it is impossible to say that if he were to issue £13,000,000 of a war loan he would be quite certain of issuing it at 2½ premium. Again, I think he is right in the decision at which he has arrived.

It is plain to any one who understands these things that he knows very well that what he will have to do is to issue this money on floating debt of some kind or other, either Treasury bills or Exchequer bonds, or some short security of that nature. I know that the right hon. gentleman agrees with me as to the evil of floating debt, because he and I together reduced the floating debt almost to a minimum. It stood in the time of the former Administration at £36,000,000. That is a great evil. When you come into a tight money market you have to pay a high price; and if he raises

this money by £13,000,000 his floating debt will, I think, exceed £30,000,000. What price does he expect to get them at? There are gentlemen in the House who can tell him. His last price was 4 per cent. Does any one say that that is the extreme price to which they are likely to rise? I do not profess to be an expert in these matters, but no one looking at the present state of the money market of the world can predict what the price of the floating debt will be at any particular time. I do not know what estimate he has made for the interest which in future he is bound to raise on a floating debt of upwards of £30,000,000.

The right hon. gentleman has spoken of Exchequer bonds. I am all for short currency of debt, but I cannot help recollecting that in the time of the Crimean war Exchequer bonds were raised with a view to liquidation, and as soon as the time came for liquidation they were renewed. I rest with confidence on the hope that if the right hon. gentleman is responsible for the financial affairs of the country next April—and I know nobody equally fit—that he will lay before the House a scheme for the liquidation of the debt which during the present year we have incurred. That is a matter, in my opinion, quite apart from any party interests, of the highest consequence to the welfare and the credit of this country.

Passing by these minor details I should like to make a few remarks upon the finance of which this is the concluding chapter this year. It is very remarkable how the financial aspect of the war began. When the Government entered upon the war in October their estimate for its conduct and conclusion was ten millions of money—I forget the number of men; in February it was 13 millions; in March 37½ millions; and now to that we have to add the figure of 7½ mil-

lions of the Under Secretary for War or the figure of 8½ millions of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. I look at the figures as a test of the foresight of this Government. They entered upon the war with a light heart and a lighter purse. In October they were satisfied they would have a military parade and a walk-over in the Republics. It was not till February they discovered they must have 13 millions more. In the Budget in March the right hon. gentleman put the gross cost of the war at 23 millions, towards which he had a surplus of five millions and a deficit of about 17 millions. (Sir M. Hicks-Beach: That estimate was till the end of the financial year.) Yes, the 31st of March. But in that very March they wanted 37½ millions more, and now they want 7½ millions more. All I can say is that these figures do not spell prescience as to the character of the war on which they had entered.

I am not going to-day—under no circumstances do I think it at all necessary or expedient—to discuss the origin of the war. I doubt very much whether at this time, or even in this generation, a just judgment will be formed upon the war. It will be judged by those who live to see its results. Do you suppose it will be determined by a snatch dissolution? That is not the final judgment of a nation that has a future. I have lived to see another great war. I remember the time when, in the streets and in the music halls, the Crimean War was as popular as this war. No man could be heard to aver against it, but half a century has elapsed, and the Prime Minister of England has avowed that at that time we put an equal sum of money on the wrong horse. I say that, in the end, this war will be judged by its results, and the results of this war will depend upon the policy which attends its conclusion. That is all we can say to-day. All

we can do is to contribute, as far as we can, to making that policy a wise policy.

We are told, and that is all I will say upon the origin of the war, that the war was inevitable. That discovery was made after the event, and an inevitable Government has been the sport of inevitable circumstances. I am not myself a disciple of the inevitable in statesmanship. I am old-fashioned enough still to believe in the doctrine of causation, and I am not satisfied with a defence which rests upon a purblind fatalism. If a great enterprise is undertaken with means ludicrously inadequate, if there is a lamentable break-down in your hospital system, or if military disasters are repeated in the presence of an inferior foe, I am not satisfied to be told that all this was inevitable. For my part, I hold with the great Roman satirist that "prudence and not fortune is the deity which guides the destinies of mankind." However, I admit it is of no use to attempt to argue with a Predestinarian Administration. They tell us they knew all about the armaments of their antagonists, their Mausers, and their Krupp guns, and, in fact, they told us they were armed to the teeth; yet ten millions was all they asked for for some six months. And in that war, for which ten millions were asked, I think the losses from all causes—killed, wounded, missing, and deaths from disease—have been as near as possible equal to the whole number of their foes.

We are told sometimes—it is a favourite dilemma of the Colonial Secretary—that we must either approve the origin of the war and its prosecution, or oppose it altogether and refuse the means of carrying it on. Now that, with great respect to him, I will venture to say, is absolutely irrational. When your house is on fire it is not at all immaterial who set it on fire, but what you have got to do is to put it out.

To say that you must either approve the conduct of the person who set it on fire, or object to its being put out, does not seem to me to be a sensible proposition. In the same way, if the interests of the nation are imperilled the first duty of every man is to employ the means and to support the means best fitted to put an end to that danger. That is my view on this subject, on which, since the war began, I have consistently acted. The question of ultimate responsibility remains, but the duty of dealing with the present danger, of quenching the flames, and removing the peril to the country, is imperative. That is just, reasonable, and perfectly consistent. The House of Commons have voted, and they will always vote, in my opinion, the money, whether by taxation or by borrowing, which is necessary to bring this war to the earliest finish.

I know that the right hon. gentleman the Colonial Secretary has charged those upon this bench with having been willing to sacrifice the interests of the country when they were responsible for the government of the country. He brought a charge against the leader of the Opposition—a charge he found it necessary to retract, but for which he has not thought fit to apologise. That is the right hon. gentleman's way. But I must observe that my right hon. friend the leader of the Opposition, was not the chief offender. He had the misfortune to have an "imperious colleague" under whose evil influence he was guilty of a crime that was never committed. That imperious colleague does not ask or expect any amends for that charge from the Colonial Secretary. He was good enough to say that the right hon. gentleman had diminished the artillery of this country under the compulsion of an "imperious colleague who was seeking after popular Budgets." I am perfectly contented with the

somewhat belated acknowledgment on the part of the right hon. gentleman and his colleagues that the Budgets of the late Administration were popular—Budgets which the right hon. gentleman and his friends wasted no means, but employed every artifice, to defeat. What did the late Administration find? They found a deficient revenue, they found a Navy neglected by their predecessors, and a demand for an increase in the Navy. They met those demands by calling upon the people for great sacrifices in respect of taxation, and that was the popular Budget of an imperious colleague, who coerced my right hon. friend into a crime which it is admitted he never committed. These are the sort of reckless charges which are manufactured upon the eve of a dissolution.

If you want an example of the sacrifice of public interests to popular Budgets you must go to Governments who in times of peace and of great surplus cut down the Sinking Fund, and who appropriated that which might have gone to the national defence to favourite classes whom they are willing to subsidise. That was not the conduct of our short Administration with its feeble majority. We met the difficulties in which we found ourselves, not by borrowing; we called upon the nation for great sacrifices; we carried in this House—yes, and they could not reject it in the House of Lords—a popular Budget upon the surpluses of which the right hon. gentleman and his friends have been living for five years. Therefore, for my part, I am quite willing to accept as amends for the unfounded imputation he cast upon me his recognition that it was a popular Budget. I have no desire in this matter to introduce party recriminations. In the interests of the credit of the public life of this country I do enter, and I will continue to enter, a stern

remonstrance against this habit for electioneering purposes of inventing false charges. I am afraid that is a practice which is becoming more common than it used to be when I first entered political life. It is part of the new diplomacy. I am not an admirer of the new diplomacy, especially that particular feature of it.

Now I turn to a matter which is more satisfactory, and in which we can all agree, and that is the courage, the devotion, the self-sacrifice which every class of the subjects of the Queen in this country, and in her dominions beyond the seas, have shown in the trials to which they have been subjected in this war. Those people who believe that a long period of prosperity and peace depraves the fibre of a nation have seen that theory belied by the events of the past year. I have heard it said, and I am not sure it was not said by a member of Her Majesty's Government, that it was worth while to have the war in order to enjoy this spectacle. I do not go so far as that. I should not even be willing to set my own house on fire in order to see how my household would behave. I should be quite satisfied to trust to them without it. I think that is a poor consolation for all the suffering, the loss of life, and the sorrow which have been caused. I cannot, looking at this the final estimate of this Session, fail to look back to where we were this time 12 months. If the estimates and, still more, the sad records of this war could have been before this House in August of last year, I, for one, shall never part with the belief that there would have been a different temper and tone in dealing with the difficulties of that period, and that the result might have been different from what it was.

What was the condition of this country in last August? A condition in which every man could rejoice. You had an

unexampled trade, you had public credit high, you had the condition of the people in the matter of wages good, you had the necessaries and the comforts of life cheap, you had a revenue overflowing beyond the dreams of the avarice even of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. You had a surplus of ten millions from which with its prospects you had the expectation of great relief to the people of this country. You might have granted them many a boon; you might have given them relief from taxation, you might have granted old-age pensions. Such was the progress of the people of this nation as the result of 50 years' practically unbroken peace. I know there are people who advocate war and annexation. Sometimes it is in the cause of Christianity, sometimes in the cause of civilization, and, when those do not take, it is for the good of trade. We have heard from the President of the Board of Trade that he expects a decline in the trade of this country. I believe that that is borne out by the state of things at present in Lancashire. I have spoken of public credit. Nothing strengthens public credit so much as the knowledge that you are making constant provision for the reduction of the debt. It is this confidence which gives to this country the command of the money market of the world. In the last six months you have cut off provision for the reduction of the debt. In fact, you have diverted for war purposes 14 millions of money which would naturally have gone towards the reduction of the debt. That has to be added to the achievements of two Tory Governments—I beg pardon, Unionist Governments, it is the same thing—who depleted permanently the Sinking Fund to the extent of four millions. We know in whose interest. You have borrowed 43 millions of money, and by this Bill you add 13 millions more. That is the change

which has come over the situation and the nation within 12 months, and now we are told that these are what are called the final estimates—the winding-up estimates. The right Hon. gentleman says that he has taken more than he wants; and therefore it is to be assumed that this is all we are to be asked for.

Is there any man who believes that these are final estimates? He must be very little versed in the precedents of the past or in the probabilities of the future. He says that he is going to leave in South Africa 45,000 men, 30,000 for a permanent garrison. The first observation I make upon that is that if you are going to shut up for a long time 30,000 men in South Africa you must raise 30,000 more men in England, but there is no estimate for that. And there is not merely the question of the estimate of the money, but the question of the enlistment of the men, and of that we hear nothing. As to the garrison of the Republics, I do not offer any opinion on that subject. I know that that territory is nearly twice as big as the United Kingdom, and 30,000 men in the midst of a discontented population will not be a very large proportion. If you are going to add to disfranchisement confiscation, then, in my opinion, it will be very inadequate; and if you are going to put on the top of that an attempt to levy 30 millions or 40 millions the inadequacy will be even greater. It is not merely the money you have borrowed and the money you have spent, but we are told that there are to be great claims for compensation. Who is going to pay the claims for compensation? We have heard nothing of that from the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He talks about the compensation to be paid to all those loyalists who have suffered in the war. Who is going to pay it? We ought to hear something of that.

But, then, there are the other odd 15,000 men who are not to be brought home. Who are they? Are they the persons who are to become settlers there? What is your authority for believing that there are 15,000 men who have had experience of South Africa and who desire to remain there? We should like to have some explanation on that subject. I have talked to many and I have read the letters of many, and the one chorus is, "Thank God we have done our duty, and we hope we shall never see the country again." That is my experience on that point. But are these 15,000 men to have any support given to them? What are they to receive if they choose to remain there? Are you going to give them confiscated land, or are you going to give them money, and if so, how much money? Why in this estimate now put before us are we not told what is to be the cost of settling these 15,000 men? Do you believe there is any English yeoman who will allow himself to be placed down in South Africa in the midst of a hostile population alone? There are better places for him to go to than that. Of course, if you have a policy of confiscation, then there will be some inducement to the men to remain; but in any case, you ought to give us some account of who these 15,000 men are, what they are to receive, and what is to be the inducement for them to settle.

There is another thing which is not provided for in this final estimate. We are told that as the result of this war there is to be a great military consultation and a great military organization. Will that cost nothing? The principle, so far as I have seen it, of this future military organization, is that each military man has his own plan, which he considers the most perfect plan, and insists upon its adoption. The one thing they are all agreed upon is to denounce any check

upon it, especially on the part of the Treasury. It is perfectly obvious that you must raise 30,000 more men to take the place of the garrison that is to remain in South Africa, and the demands which are made for military organization may be of an indefinite character. Therefore, I cannot myself accept for a moment the estimates and the Bill we have now before us as closing the capital account of the war in South Africa.

Well, sir, unfortunately, we are upon a review of our financial situation, and there is another matter—I can hardly call it a small cloud rising in the East—for which a provision of £3,000,000 is made in this Bill. (Sir M. Hicks-Beach: There is a large margin.) Well, I should like to ask what is your margin? You had £3,000,000, and you ask for £8,500,000 for the war in South Africa; that is £11,500,000, and then you have got £1,000,000 additional for the reserve of stores, and so on. If that is a proper calculation it fills up your £13,000,000. However, the right hon. gentleman will explain that. At all events, we have done a very formidable thing. We have opened a new war account in China. Into what that trouble may or will develop no man can say. I do not blame the Government for not declaring their policy in this case because the facts are not known on which any policy can be founded. That the besieged Ministers and their dependants must be rescued if they be alive, as we all hope they are, everybody will of course agree, and that those by whom they have been attacked and some of them murdered, must be punished if they can be discovered. Beyond that, the future is dark and gloomy. We have interests in China equal to, if not greater, than those we have in South Africa, and never was there a time when it was more desirable or necessary for the good

of this Empire that we should have our hands free, and be able to make the influence of England felt in those regions. Never were we in a position more difficult to make that influence felt. We are in the position of a man with his arms tied behind his back.

Our resources are greatly restricted. We have had recourse already to troops from India in Africa and we have been obliged to have recourse to Indian troops in China. That is, in my opinion, a most mischievous practice for the interests of this Empire in India. By adopting it you place before the Indian people this dilemma. Either you are keeping an unnecessary number of troops in India at the expense of the people of India, who cannot afford it—and that is an injustice—or you are not; and then by removing a force from India you are exposing her to perils to which she ought not to be exposed. Therefore, not now only, but in former days, I have always protested against the use of Indian troops for purposes that are not Indian.

Well, you have this question of China to be solved by the concert of Europe. We know something of the concert of Europe. Up to this time the representatives of the concert of Europe have been occupied in nothing but competitive rivalry to see which could obtain the chief portion of the Chinese Empire, and then you are surprised that this is resented by the Chinese people. The Great Powers—I am speaking of them all—assumed that China was a corpse, and around that corpse the eagles were gathered together; but that corpse has proved to be most dangerously alive. It is clear enough that the ultimate questions which may arise in China may be more formidable than any we have had to meet in South Africa, and the £3,000,000 provided for dealing with China will be about as adequate as the £10,000,000 you have provided for South Africa.

But behind and beyond all these things there is a matter of greater gravity than any to which I have yet referred. Statesmen of the highest authority and character have been impressing upon us over and over again this fact—that we are the best hated people in the world. Not by the Governments, but by the people of foreign states, which is a much more serious thing. In a speech of the Prime Minister to the Primrose League he represented to them that so great and so combined was this hatred that we might at any time be exposed to an ugly rush from the nations of Europe. Such a statement as that has never in the history of this country been made by the Prime Minister of England. I do not say whether it is true or not, but that statement, whatever it is, is rather an unpleasant consequence of the regime of Imperialism which we have enjoyed for five years. We were told by the gentleman who is now Viceroy of India, on this Government acceding to office, that the mere fact of Lord Salisbury taking charge of the Foreign Office would produce a great calm in Europe, that everybody would be satisfied and everybody would be happy, that there would be the millenium, when the lion would lie down with the lamb. But at the end of five years the Prime Minister comes forward and says we are the object of the combined hatred of Europe. And what is his remedy for that state of affairs? It is to be brought about by the Primrose League, who are to arm with rifles the peasantry of this country. That does not entirely reassure me against this syndicate of European hatred.

> "Non tali auxilio nec defensoribus istis
> Tempus eget."

Nothing could be more childish or more puerile. Why, sir, if it is true that this danger exists, you must quadruple your

Army and you must quadruple your Navy. What does it mean? It means that if each of four of the Powers builds an ironclad you must build four, or if each adds a corps d'armee to its land forces, you must add four.

The remarkable thing is that when the Prime Minister made this declaration he said he really could not understand the reason for that hatred. He ought to understand it. It has grown up under his auspices. "It was inevitable." That, I suppose, is the explanation given by the Government. There is another authority, greatly versed in foreign affairs, who holds the same opinion of the danger and of the universality of the hatred; but Lord Rosebery knows the cause of that hatred, and he has stated it in a celebrated speech. This is what he said, and it is deserving of the attention of the House and of the country: "The British Empire needs peace. For the last twenty years, and still more for the last twelve, you have been laying your hands," observe these words, "with almost frantic eagerness on every tract of territory adjacent to your own, or which from any point of view you thought it desirable to take. That has had two results. The first result is that you have excited to an almost intolerable degree the envy of other colonizing nations, and, in the cases of many empires, or many countries, or several countries rather, which were formerly friendly to you, you can reckon, in consequence of your colonial policy, right or wrong—and I am supposed to be rather a sinner in that respect—not on their active benevolence but on their active malevolence." That is the reason of the hatred given by Lord Rosebery.

He then goes into a careful calculation as to what has been the addition of territory in the last twelve years by the process which he described as a process of "frantic

eagerness to lay hands on every tract of country adjacent to your own," and he says it has resulted in "a mass of undigested Empire." Nothing affects the body corporal more than undigested food, and the body politic with an enormous mass of undigested Empire is in a state of unwholesome congestion. This undigested Empire he calculates has amounted "in the last twelve years to twenty-two areas as large as that of the United Kingdom itself"; and this is the very sound conclusion at which he arrived: "That marks out for many years a policy from which you cannot depart if you would. You may be compelled to draw the sword, I hope you may not be, but the foreign policy of Great Britain until this territory is consolidated, filled up, settled, and civilized, must inevitably be a policy of peace." That was spoken four years ago. That was before unconsidered trifles like the Soudan and the two Republics were added. Is it not a strange thing that great empires should be possessed with such a lust of extended dominion, and that the greater they are the more hungry they seem to be for more? What Lord Rosebery calls frantic eagerness for acquisition of territory, and what Lord Salisbury rebuked as "the desire to fight everybody and take everything"—a desire which, he said, was the ruin of great Empires—seems to be growing upon the nations of Europe.

What is the consequence? Their resources are strained to the uttermost, they leave no margin for dealing with the duties which belong to their patrimony, the great possessions they already have are starved and mortgaged for further acquisitions. Every nation seems to regard that which its neighbour acquires as a wrong to itself, and the consequence is that state of active malevolence which is referred to in the passage which I have read. The interests of what, after

all, is but a small and distant fraction of our vast Empire have absorbed all our resources in men; they have increased our taxation; they have accumulated our debt. What have they done for us? They have left us but a narrow margin for dealing with the great possibilities of danger in China; they have compelled us to refuse, what in my opinion we desired and ought to have given, assistance to our Indian subjects. These are the results—I am not speaking of the present war, I am speaking of this land hunger, this craving for acquisition when you have not settled, developed, or done justice to the territories you already possess, and you are not able to do justice to the people to whom you are responsible at home. Would it not be well to-day that, in reviewing the situation in which we find ourselves, those who are responsible for the fortunes of this nation, instead of inflaming popular passions and stimulating a spirit of wild and grasping ambition, should impress upon the public mind that great truth, that of all the interests of this vast and glorious Empire the greatest interest is peace?

SENATOR BAYARD

THOMAS FRANCIS BAYARD, eminent American statesman and diplomat, several of whose progenitors had represented Delaware in the national Senate, was born at Wilmington, Del., Oct. 29, 1828, and died at Dedham, Mass., Sept. 28, 1898. He was educated privately, and after studying law with his father was admitted to the Bar in 1851 and began the practice of his profession in his native city. He entered Congress in 1869 as successor in the Senate to his father, James A. Bayard, and served there continuously until 1885, leading the Democratic minority for much of that period. He served on many congressional committees, and was a member of the Electoral Commission in 1876–77. During the four years of President Cleveland's first administration, Mr. Bayard was Secretary of State, and after four more years passed in the exercise of his profession at Wilmington, he was in 1893 appointed the first envoy to Great Britain with the rank of ambassador. His social tact and his eloquence made him popular in England. He returned to the United States on the expiration of his term of office in March, 1897, and died in his seventieth year. Mr. Bayard was in 1880, and again in 1884, unsuccessful in obtaining the nomination, on the Democratic platform, for the Presidency. Senator Bayard was a man of the highest integrity, and commanded the respect of all parties. A number of his speeches have been issued singly, but no collection has so far been made.

ON THE UNITED STATES ARMY

[From an address on "Unwritten Law," delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Harvard University, June 28, 1877.]

THE army of the United States, like the militia of the several States, is the creation of their respective legislation; like the "princes and lords" of Goldsmith's verse,—

"A breath can make them, as a breath hath made."

"He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of the legislature," was one of the facts justifying revolution, "submitted to a candid world," by the founders of this government. So long as human nature remains unchanged, the final argument of force can-

not be disregarded; but, outside and beyond the will of the people expressed by law, an American army cannot exist; it is but their instrument for their own service. It is wholly dependent upon them; and they are never dependent upon it, and never will be while civil liberty exists in substance among us.

When called into existence, the army represents the military spirit of the whole nation, and is supported by the enthusiasm and pride of all. It is composed of American valor, skill, and energy, and is dedicated to the glory of our common country, whose history contains no brighter pages than those which record the naval and military achievements of her sons; but neither army nor navy stands now, nor ever did, nor ever will, toward the American people in the relation of policemen to a turbulent crowd. And those who would wish to see it placed in such an attitude, and employed in such work, are short-sighted indeed, and little regard the true dignity of the American soldier, or the real security of the American citizen.

The army of the United States is born of the martial spirit of a brave people, and is the product of national courage. This hall is hallowed as a memorial of the valor and devotion of those gallant youths who made themselves part of the army, at a time when they felt their country needed their service, and who freely offered up their lives upon the altar of patriotism.

"O, those who live are heroes now, and martyrs those who sleep."

Their surviving companions have returned to the paths of civil life, and the community is gladdened by their presence and strengthened by their example. If, to-morrow, the individuals who compose the army of the United States

should return to the occupations of civil life, they would be quietly engulfed in the great wave of humanity which rolls around them, and the true forces of the government would move on in their proper orbits as quietly and securely as before the event.

Louis XIV of France, "Le grand Monarque,"— of whom it was truly said, "his highest praise was that he supported the stage-trick of royalty with effect,"— caused his cannon to be cast with the words, "*Ultima ratio regum;*" and his apothegm has so far advanced that in our day cannon seem, not the last, but the first and only, argument of royal government in Europe.

In the maze of strife, armed diplomacy, and exhausting warfare, in which all Europe now seems about to be involved, how just the picture drawn by Montesquieu nearly a century and a half ago!

"A new distemper has spread itself in Europe, infecting our princes, and inducing them to keep up an exorbitant number of troops. It has its redoublings, and of necessity becomes contagious; for as soon as one prince augments his forces the rest, of course, do the same, so that nothing is gained thereby but public ruin. Each monarch keeps as many armies on foot as if his people were in danger of being exterminated, and they give the name of peace to this effort against all."

But a few weeks ago at Berlin, during a debate in the Imperial Parliament in relation to an increased grant of new captaincies of their army, a remarkable speech was made by General Von Moltke, the venerable master of the science of warfare. The telegram says:

"He insisted on the necessity of the grant. He said he wished for long peace, but the times did not permit such hope. On the contrary, the time was not far distant when

every government would be compelled to strain all its strength for securing its existence. The reason for this was the regretable distrust of governments toward each other. France had made great strides in her defences. Uncommonly large masses of troops were at present between Paris and the German frontier. Everything France did for her army received the undivided approval of her people. She was decidedly in advance of Germany in having her *cadres* for war ready in times of peace. Germany could not avoid a measure destined to compensate for it."

Will it not be well for Americans to comprehend fully the importance of the confession contained in this speech?

To-day the consolidated Empire of Germany is confessedly the best organized and equipped military power on the globe.

To reach this end every nerve has been strained, every resource of that people freely applied. The idea of military excellence, like the rod of Aaron, has swallowed up all others; all others have bent to its service, until upon the shoulder of every man within her borders capable of bearing arms, the hand of the drill-sergeant has been laid, and from centre to circumference of the empire centralized military power reigns supreme.

Whatever of unqualified success a victory of arms can yield, surely it was achieved by Germany in her last memorable campaign against France. And history nowhere else exhibits in such completeness and precision the mathematical demonstration of successful scientific warfare.

With a rapidity and fulness scarcely credible, the student of history saw the "whirligig of time bring in his revenges," whilst the disciples of military art witnessed demonstrations of the problems of war executed upon a scale and with a steady and intelligible certainty that approached the marvellous.

Never was a military campaign more completely and at all points successful,— even to the conquest and dismemberment of the hostile territory as a safeguard for the future, and the exaction of enormous tribute by way of pecuniary reimbursement from the vanquished. Let us note well the fruit of it all, and learn, so far as we may by the costly experience of others, what are the consequences of such a system and policy. Does it secure peace, prosperity, and tranquil happiness? Let the victor answer.

It is Von Moltke, one of the chief architects of the system, himself who confesses,— even whilst the garlands of his great triumph are yet unfaded on his brow,— that he "longs for peace, but the times do not permit such hope. That every government is soon to be compelled to strain all its strength for securing its existence."

To the worshippers of military power and the believers in armed force as the chief instrumentality of human government I commend Von Moltke's speech.

If perfected military rule brings a people to such a pass, may Heaven preserve our country from it.

Well may we exclaim with the sightless apostle of English liberty,—

"What can war, but endless war still breed."

Even victory must have a future and the only victories which can have permanence, and the fruits of which grow more secure with time, are those of justice and reason; those of mere force are almost certain to contain self-generated seeds for their own subsequent reversal.

The safety and strength of our American government consists in the self-reliant and self-controlling spirit of its people.

It was their courage, their intelligence, their virtues, that enabled our forefathers to build it up; and the same qualities and our sense of its value will inspire their descendants with love and courage to defend it.

> "Full flashing on our dormant souls the firm conviction comes
> That what our fathers did for theirs—we would for our homes."

In 1789, no sooner was the original constitution of our government adopted than the several States and their people hastened unanimously to declare in a second article of amendment that,

"A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed."

And by article third,

"No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner; nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law."

The right of the people to bear arms was thus sedulously guarded, and the necessary security of a free state was declared to be a "well-regulated militia." By the first article of the original constitution, power was given to Congress to raise and support armies, but coupled with the express condition that no appropriation of money to that purpose should be made for a longer period than two years. When delegating power to Congress to call forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, and suppress insurrection and invasion, the power was expressly reserved to the States, respectively, to appoint their own officers, and to train the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress.

Thus it will be seen that in the martial spirit of a free

people, and in their right to bear arms, the founders of our government reposed their trust, and experience has proved how wisely.

The army of the United States is our honorable instrument of self-defence, and its organization, its numbers, its employment, are to be regulated wholly by law. The military is at all times to be subordinate to the civil authority, and dependent upon law for its powers, and the prescription of its duties.

The existence or non-existence of an army makes no change in the character or methods of our government. It would be difficult to imagine a more unwarranted, and, to our American ear, more offensive statement than that "without the army the American people would be a mob."

The army and navy of the United States will be maintained in such strength as convenience, or the necessity of the government, shall dictate; and they will be held in the respect and honor due to valiant and faithful public servants, but there must be no confusion in the public mind as to the nature and proper theatre of their duties, and their true relation to their fellow citizens.

If erroneous ideas on this subject are beginning to take shape and find expression among us, let them be quietly but effectually discouraged.

Military force is always to be regarded with jealousy by a people who would be free.

It is only by military force that usurped power can have its pretensions enforced.

All history tells us that those who aspire to extraordinary power and dominion seldom trouble themselves about anything other than armies to enforce their pretensions, always decided by the possession of the longest sword.

And here, almost in the shadow of Bunker Hill, what words so befitting this grave topic, and the words of what man so proper to be recalled and heeded, as those of the patriot Webster, uttered four-and-thirty years ago, upon the completion of the monument there erected to the valor of the citizen-soldiers of America?

"Quite too frequent resort is made to military force; and quite too much of the substance of the people is consumed in maintaining armies, not for defence against foreign aggression, but for enforcing obedience to domestic authority. Standing armies are the oppressive instruments for governing the people in the ranks of hereditary and arbitrary monarchs.

"A military republic, a government founded on mock elections, and supported only by the sword, is a movement, indeed, but a retrograde and disastrous movement, from the regular and old-fashioned monarchical systems.

"If men would enjoy the blessings of the republican government, they must govern themselves by reason, by mutual counsel and consultation, by a sense and feeling of general interest, and by an acquiescence of the minority in the will of the majority properly expressed; and above all the military must be kept, according to our bill of rights, in strict subordination to the civil authority.

"Wherever this lesson is not both learned and practised, there can be no political freedom. Absurd and preposterous is it, a scoff and satire on free forms of constitutional liberty, for frames of government to be prescribed by military leaders, and the right of suffrage to be exercised at the point of the sword."

The grandeur and glory of our Republic must have its base in the interests and affections of our whole people; they must not be oppressed by its weight, but must see in it the work of their own hands, which they can recognize and uphold with an honest pride, and which every emotion that influences men will induce them to maintain and defend.

They must feel in their hearts "the ever-growing and eternal debt which is due to generous government from protected freedom."

Silently and almost imperceptibly the generations succeed each other, and at the close of every third lustrum it is startling to mark what a new body of men have come into the rank of leadership in our public affairs.

How few of those who to-day guide and influence public measures did so fifteen years ago.

While it may not be in the power of leading men to control the decision of issues, it is in a great degree within their ability to create issues, by pressing forward subjects for public consideration; and herein lies much of the power of the demagogue, that pest of popular government, who, seeking only his own advancement, adroitly presents topics to the public calculated only to arouse their passions and prejudices, to the neglect of matters really vital.

Despite the almost perfect religious liberty in this country, the passions of sectarianism and the prejudices inseparable from such a subject are always to be discovered floating on the surface of society, ready to be seized upon by the shallow and unscrupulous.

The embers of such differences among mankind are never cold, and the breath of the demagogue can always fan them into flame, until the placid warmth of religion, instead of gently thawing the ice around human hearts, and imparting a glow of comfort to the homes of a happy community, becomes a raging conflagration in which the peace and good will of society are consumed.

In a country so vast in its area, and differing so widely in all the aspects of life and occupation of its inhabitants, antagonism of interest, rivalry in business, and misunder-

standings are frequently and inevitably to be expected; and the constant exercise of conciliation and harmony is called for to accommodate differences and soothe exasperation.

It is in the power of unscrupulous self-seekers to raise such issues as shall involve, not the real interest and welfare of their countrymen, but their passions only, which are easily kindled, and can leave nothing but the ashes of disappointment and bitterness as the residuum.

The war between the good and evil influences in human society will never cease, and the champions of the former can never afford to lean idly on their swords, or slumber in their tents.

All around us we see successful men, vigorous and able, but unscrupulous and base, who have engraved success alone upon their banners, and as a consequence do not hesitate to trail them in the dust of low action, and stain them with disrepute, in pursuit of their object.

They keep within the pale of the written law, having its words on their lips, but none of its spirit in their hearts. Audacity and a self-trumpeting assurance are their characteristics. They reach a bad eminence, and contrive to maintain it, by all manner of self-advertisement; utterly immodest and indelicate, but successful in keeping themselves in the public eye. To them, politics is a mere game, in which stratagem and finesse are the means, and self-interest and personal advancement the end. Great aid is given to such characters by the public press, whose columns too often laud their tricky, shifty action, or at least give it the publicity it desires, without accompanying it with the condemnation it deserves.

How shall such influences be overcome? How shall we purge places of public station of men whose open boast is

that they may be proven to be knaves, but cannot be called "fools?"

Nothing can effect this but the unwritten law, which shall create a tone on national honesty, truthfulness and honor, to which the people will respond, and which will compel at least an outward imitation of the virtues upon which it is founded.

The armor of the Roman soldier covered only the front of his body. The cuirass shielded his breast, but his back was left unprotected. Each man felt himself to be the representative of the valor and good fame of his legion and his country.

The unwritten law of honor forbade him to turn his back upon danger, and thus became his impenetrable shield.

Such is the spirit and such are the laws that constitute the true safeguards of a nation against dangers from within and without.

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CARL SCHURZ

CARL SCHURZ, LL. D., a distinguished American statesman, publicist, and orator, was born at Liblar, near Cologne, Prussia, March 2, 1829. He received an excellent education at Bonn University, and after a romantic career as a revolutionist, was exiled from his native country. He came to America in 1852 and settled at Watertown, Wis. Being studious and ambitious, he was in 1858 nominated for the second place on the State ticket for Lieutenant-governor of Wisconsin, but was defeated. He was a delegate to the Republican National Convention at Chicago in 1860, and, on the election of President Lincoln, was appointed United States Minister to Spain. At the outbreak of the Civil War, he entered the Union Army as a brigadier-general. In 1865–66 he was Washington correspondent of the New York "Tribune." In 1866, he founded the "Post" at Detroit, Mich., and in the following year became an editor of the "Westliche Post" of St. Louis. He was chairman of the Republican convention of 1868, that nominated Grant, and in 1869 was elected United States Senator from Missouri. He became a leader in the Republican party and originated the "Liberal Republican" movement in 1871. In 1877, President Hayes appointed him Secretary of the Interior. He was an active opponent of James G. Blaine and supported Grover Cleveland, as leader of the "Mugwumps," in the presidential campaigns of 1884, 1888, and 1892. In 1881, he became editor-in-chief of the New York "Evening Post," but resigned in 1884 to accept the New York agency of a German steamship line. From 1892 to 1898 he was a contributor to the editorial page of "Harper's Weekly." He was president of the National Civil Service Reform League and has always been a profound student of public affairs. Among his most notable speeches are those on "The Irrepressible Conflict" (1858); "The Doom of Slavery" (1860); and "The Abolition of Slavery as a War Measure" (1862). His publications include a volume of speeches, a "Life of Henry Clay," and an essay on "Abraham Lincoln."

ARRAIGNMENT OF STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS

DELIVERED AT SPRINGFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS, JANUARY 4, 1860

WHEN great political or social problems, difficult to solve and impossible to put aside, are pressing upon the popular mind, it is a common thing to see a variety of theories springing up, which purport to be unfailing remedies, and to effect a speedy cure. Men, who look only at the surface of things, will, like bad physicians,

pretend to remove the disease itself by palliating its most violent symptoms, and will astonish the world by their inventive ingenuity, no less than by their amusing assurance. But a close scrutiny will in most cases show that the remedies offered are but new forms of old mistakes.

Of all the expedients which have been invented for the settlement of the slavery question, Mr. Douglas's doctrine of popular sovereignty is certainly the most remarkable, not only by the apparent novelty of the thing, but by the pompous assurance with which it was offered to the nation as a perfect and radical cure.

Formerly, compromises were made between the two conflicting systems of labor, by separating them by geographical lines. These compromises did, indeed, produce intervals of comparative repose, but the war commenced again, with renewed acrimony, as soon as a new bone of contention presented itself. The system of compromises as a whole proved a failure.

Mr. Douglas's doctrine of popular sovereignty proposed to bring the two antagonistic elements into immediate contact, and to let them struggle hand to hand for the supremacy on the same ground. In this manner, he predicted the slavery question would settle itself in the smooth way of ordinary business. He seemed to be confident of success; but hardly is his doctrine, in the shape of a law for the organization of Territories, put upon the statute book, when the struggle grows fiercer than ever, and the difficulties ripen into a crisis.

This does not disturb him. He sends forth manifesto upon manifesto, and even during the State campaign of last fall, he mounts the rostrum in Ohio, in order to show what he can do; and, like a second Constantine, he points his finger

at the great principle of popular sovereignty, and says to his followers: "In this sign you will conquer."

But the tendency of events appeared unwilling to yield to his prophecy. There seemed to be no charm in his command; there was certainly no victory in his sign. He had hardly defined his doctrine more elaborately than ever before, when his friends were routed everywhere, and even his great party is on the point of falling to pieces. The failure is magnificently complete.

There certainly was something in his theories that captivated the masses. I do not speak of those who joined their political fortunes to his, because they saw in him a man who some day might be able to scatter favors and plunder around him. But there were a great many, who, seduced by the plausible sound of the words "popular sovereignty," meant to have found there some middle ground, on which the rights of free labor might be protected and secured, without exasperating those interested in slave labor.

They really did think that two conflicting organizations of society, which are incompatible by the nature of things, might be made compatible by legislative enactments. But this delusion vanished. No sooner was the theory put to a practical test, when the construction of the Nebraska bill became no less a matter of fierce dispute than the construction of the constitution had been before. . . .

I see the time coming when those who rallied around Douglas's colors, because they believed in his principles, will, from his most devoted friends become his most indignant accusers. They are already, unwittingly, denouncing his doctrines, when they intend to defend him; they will not be sparing in direct denunciations as soon as they discover how badly they had been deceived, and how ignominiously they were to be sold. We might, indeed, feel tempted to

pity him, if we had not to reserve that generous emotion of our hearts for those who are wrong by mistake and unfortunate without guilt.

Mr. Douglas's ambiguous position, which makes it possible for him to cheat either the North or the South, without adding a new inconsistency to those already committed, makes it at the same time necessary for him to put his double-faced theories upon an historical basis, which relieves him of the necessity of expressing a moral conviction on the matter of slavery either way.

To say that slavery is right would certainly displease the North; to say that slavery is wrong would inevitably destroy him at the South. In order to dodge this dangerous dilemma, he finds it expedient to construe the history of this country so as to show that this question of right or wrong in regard to slavery had nothing whatever to do with the fundamental principles upon which the American Republic was founded.

Dealing with slavery only as a matter of fact, and treating the natural rights of man and the relation between slavery and republican institutions as a matter of complete indifference, he is bound to demonstrate that slavery never was seriously deemed inconsistent with liberty, and that the black never was seriously supposed to possess any rights which the white man was bound to respect.

But here he encounters the Declaration of Independence, laying down the fundamental principles upon which the Republic was to develop itself; he encounters the ordinance of 1787, the practical application of those principles; both historical facts, as stern and stubborn as they are sublime. But as Mr. Douglas had no logic to guide him in his theories, so he had no conscience to restrain him in his historical constructions. To interpret the Declaration of Independence

according to the evident meaning of its words would certainly displease the South; to call it a self-evident lie would certainly shock the moral sensibilities of the North. So he recognizes it as a venerable document, but makes the language, which is so dear to the hearts of the North, express a meaning which coincides with the ideas of the South.

We have appreciated his exploits as a logician; let us follow him in his historical discoveries.

Let your imagination carry you back to the year 1776. You stand in the hall of the old colonial court house of Philadelphia. Through the open door you see the Continental Congress assembled; the moment of a great decision is drawing near. Look at the earnest faces of the men assembled there, and consider what you may expect of them. The philosophy of the eighteenth century counts many of them among its truest adepts. They welcomed heartily in their scattered towns and plantations the new ideas brought forth by that sudden progress of humanity, and, meditating them in the dreamy solitude of virgin nature, they had enlarged the compass of their thoughts, and peopled their imaginations with lofty ideals. A classical education (for most of them are by no means illiterate men) has put all the treasures of historical knowledge at their disposal, and enabled them to apply the experience of past centuries to the new problem they attempt to solve.

See others there of a simple but strong cast of mind, whom common sense would call its truest representatives. Wont to grapple with the dangers and difficulties of an early settler's life, or, if inhabitants of young uprising cities, wont to carry quick projects into speedy execution, they have become regardless of obstacles and used to strenuous activity. The constant necessity to help themselves has developed their

mental independence; and, inured to political strife by the continual defence of their colonial self-government, they have at last become familiar with the idea, to introduce into practical existence the principles which their vigorous minds have quietly built up into a theory.

The first little impulses to the general upheaving of the popular spirit — the tea tax, the stamp act — drop into insignificance; they are almost forgotten; the revolutionary spirit has risen far above them. It disdains to justify itself with petty pleadings; it spurns diplomatic equivocation; it places the claim to independence upon the broad basis of eternal rights, as self-evident as the sun, as broad as the world, as common as the air of heaven.

The struggle of the colonies against the usurping government of Great Britain has risen to the proud dimensions of a struggle of man for liberty and equality. Behold, five men are advancing towards the table of the president. First, Thomas Jefferson, whose philosophical spirit grasps the generality of things and events; then Benjamin Franklin, the great apostle of common sense, the clear wisdom of real life beaming in his serene eye; then the undaunted John Adams, and two others. Now Jefferson reads the Declaration of Independence, and loudly proclaims the fundamental principle upon which it rests: "All men are created free and equal!"

It is said; history tells you what it meant. The sceptre of royalty is flung back across the ocean; the prerogatives of nobility are trodden into the dust; every man a king, every man a baron; in seven of the original colonies the shackles of the black man struck off; almost everywhere the way prepared for gradual emancipation. "No recognition of the right of property in man!" says Madison. "Let slavery be abolished by law!" says Washington. Not only the suprem-

acy of Old England is to be shaken off, but a new organization of society is to be built up on the basis of liberty and equality. That is the Declaration of Independence! That is the American Revolution. All men free and equal! Not even the broad desert of the Atlantic ocean stops the triumphant shout. Behold, the nations of the Old World are rushing to arms. Bastiles are blown into the dust as by the trumpets of Jericho, and like a pillar of fire by night and a pillar of cloud by day, the great watchword of the American Revolution shows forever the way to struggling humanity. All men are created free and equal! Whence the supernatural power in these seven words?

Turn your eyes away from the sublime spectacle of 1776, from that glorious galaxy of men whose hearts were large enough for all mankind, and let me recall you to the sober year of 1857. There is Springfield, the capital of Illinois, one of those States which owe their greatness to an ordinance originally framed by the same man whose hand wrote the Declaration of Independence. In the Hall of the Assembly there stands Mr. Douglas, who initiates an eager crowd into the mysteries of "popular sovereignty." He will tell you what it meant, when the men of 1776 said that "all men are created free and equal." He says:

"No man can vindicate the character, the motives, and the conduct of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, except upon the hypothesis that they referred to the white race alone, and not to the African, when they declared all men to have been created free and equal — that they were speaking of British subjects on this continent being equal to British subjects born and residing in Great Britain — that they were entitled to the same inalienable rights, and among them were enumerated life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The Declaration of Independence was adopted merely for the purpose of justifying the colonists in the eyes of the

civilized world in withdrawing their allegiance from the British Crown, and dissolving their connection with the mother country."

What? Is that all? Is that little heap of quicksand the whole substructure on which a new organization of society was to be built? The whole foundation upon which the proud and ponderous edifice of the United States rests? They did, then, not mean all men, when they said all men. They intended, perhaps, even to disfranchise those free blacks who in five of the original thirteen colonies enjoyed the right of voting? They meant but the white race. Oh, no, by no means, the whole white race; not the Germans, not the French, not the Scandinavians; they meant but British subjects. "British subjects on this continent being equal to British subjects born and residing on the other side of the great water!"

There is your Declaration of Independence, a diplomatic dodge, adopted merely for the purpose of excusing the rebellious colonies in the eyes of civilized mankind. There is your Declaration of Independence, no longer the sacred code of the rights of man, but an hypocritical piece of special pleading, drawn up by a batch of artful pettifoggers, who, when speaking of the rights of man, meant but the privileges of a set of aristocratic slaveholders, but styled it "the rights of man," in order to throw dust into the eyes of the world, and to inveigle noble-hearted fools into lending them aid and assistance.

These are your boasted Revolutionary sires, no longer heroes and sages, but accomplished humbuggers and hypocrites, who said one thing and meant another; who passed counterfeit sentiments as genuine, and obtained arms and money and assistance and sympathy on false pretences!

There is your great American Revolution, no longer the great champion of universal principles, but a mean Yankee trick — a wooden nutmeg — the most impudent imposition ever practiced upon the whole world!

That is the way Mr. Douglas wants you to read and to understand the proudest pages of American history! That is the kind of history with which he finds it necessary to prop his mongrel doctrine of popular sovereignty! That is what he calls vindicating the character and the motives and the conduct of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

Thus he did not blush to slander Jefferson, who, when speaking of his country, meant the world and, when speaking of his fellow citizens, meant mankind; and Franklin, in whose clear head theory and practice were the same, and who, having declared "all men to be created free and equal," became the first president of the first great Abolition Society; and John Adams, the representative of that State which abolished slavery within its limits with one great stroke of legislation; and Washington, who declared it to be "his fondest wish to see slavery abolished by law," and affixed to the Declaration of Independence the broad signature of his heroic sword; and Madison, who deemed it "absurd to admit the idea of property in man;" and of the framers of the constitution, who took care not to disgrace that instrument with the word "slavery," and, before adopting it finally, blotted out from the extradition clause the word "servitude," avowedly because it signified the condition of a slave, and substituted the word "service," avowedly because it signified the condition of a freeman.

Thus Mr. Douglas dares to speak of all those true men, who, after having proclaimed their principles in the Declaration, endeavored to introduce them into practical life in

almost every State, in the way of gradual emancipation! That they have failed in this, is it a fault of theirs? It shows not that they were less great and sincere, but that subsequent generations were hardly worthy of so noble an ancestry!

There is Mr. Douglas's version of your history. He despairs of converting you without slandering your fathers. His present doctrines cannot thrive, unless planted in a calumny on the past. He vindicates the signers of the Declaration of Independence! Indeed, they need it sadly. I see the illustrious committee of five rise from their graves, at their head Thomas Jefferson, his lips curled with the smile of contempt, and I hear him say to Mr. Douglas:

"Sir, you may abuse us as much as you please, but have the goodness to spare us with your vindications of our character and motives."

It is a common thing that men of a coarse cast of mind so lose themselves in the mean pursuit of selfish ends as to become insensible to the grand and sublime. Measuring every character and every event in history by the low standard of their own individualities, applying to everything the narrow rule of their own motives, incapable of grasping broad and generous ideas, they will belittle every great thing they cannot deny, and drag down every struggle of principles to the sordid arena of aspiring selfishness, or of small competing interests.

Eighteen hundred years ago, there were men who saw nothing in incipient Christianity but a mere wrangle between Jewish theologians, got up by a carpenter's boy, and carried on by a few crazy fishermen.

Three hundred years ago, there were men who saw in the great reformatory movement of the sixteenth century, not the

emancipation of the individual conscience, but a mere fuss kicked up by a German monk who wanted to get married.

Two hundred years ago, there were men who saw in Hampden's refusal to pay the ship money, not a bold vindication of constitutional liberty, but the crazy antics of a man who was mean enough to quarrel about a few shillings.

And now there are men who see in the Declaration of Independence and the American Revolution, not the reorganization of human society upon the basis of liberty and equality, but a dodge of some English colonists who were unwilling to pay their taxes.

But the dignity of great characters and the glory of great events find their vindication in the consciences of the people. It is in vain for demagogism to raise its short arms against the truth of history. The Declaration of Independence stands there. No candid man ever read it without seeing and feeling that every word of it was dictated by deep and earnest thought, and that every sentence of it bears the stamp of philosophical generality.

It is the summing up of the results of the philosophical development of the age; it is the practical embodiment of the progressive ideas, which, very far from being confined to the narrow limits of the English colonies, pervaded the very atmosphere of all civilized countries. That code of human rights has grown on the very summit of civilization, not in the miry soil of a South Carolina cottonfield. He must have a dull mind or a disordered brain, who misunderstands its principles; but he must have the heart of a villain, who knowingly misrepresents them.

Mr. Douglas's ambition might have been satisfied with this ignominious exploit. But the necessities of the popular sovereignty doctrine do not stop there. After having tried to

explain away the fundamental principles underlying this Republic, which are hostile to slavery and its extension, Mr. Douglas finds it exceedingly inconvenient to encounter facts which prove, beyond doubt, that these principles, from a mere theoretical existence, rose to practical realization. Popular sovereignty, which is at war with the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence, demands the slaughter of the ordinance of 1787, and Mr. Douglas is up to the task. He does not stop at trifles.

And here we must return to the "Harper's Magazine" manifesto. He leads us through a century of colonial history, in order to show that the people of the colonies claimed the right to legislate on the subject of slavery. And, remarkably enough, all the instances quoted show a uniform tendency adverse to the peculiar institution.

Mr. Douglas then proceeds to discover the germs of his popular sovereignty doctrine in the first congressional legislation concerning the Territories. I will not undertake to criticise that singular historical essay, although some of its statements are such as to make the freshmen of our colleges smile. The "statesman" Douglas does not seem to be aware that the ability to read history ought to precede the attempt to write it.

He leads us back to the Congress of 1784. Mr. Jefferson and his colleagues have just executed the deed of cession of the Northwestern Territory, and the same Mr. Jefferson, as chairman of a committee, then submits "a plan for the temporary government of the Territories ceded or to be ceded by the individual States to the United States."

Mr. Douglas proceeds to describe how the Territorial governments were to be organized, what rights and powers were put into the hands of the people, and how they were to be

exercised; and, after having demonstrated that the term "new States" meant the same thing which is now designated by "Territories," he comes to the conclusion that the spirit pervading that plan was in exact consonance with his doctrine of "popular sovereignty."

Mr. Douglas ostentatiously calls this "the Jeffersonian plan." "It was," says he, "the first plan of government for the Territories ever adopted in the United States. It was drawn by the author of the Declaration of Independence, and revised and adopted by those who shaped the issues which produced the Revolution, and formed the foundations upon which our whole system of American government rests."

But Mr. Douglas skips rather nimbly over the significant fact that the same "author of the Declaration of Independence" put into that plan a proviso, excluding slavery from the Territories. Was that a mere accident? Mr. Jefferson showed thereby, conclusively, that, in his opinion, the exclusion of slavery by congressional legislation was by no means inconsistent with the spirit of "popular sovereignty" which Mr. Douglas discovers in the plan of 1784; but this does not disturb Mr. Douglas.

"The fifth article," says he, "relating to the prohibition of slavery, having been rejected by Congress, never became a part of the Jeffersonian plan of government for the Territories, as adopted April 23, 1784."

Although with a large numerical majority in its favor (sixteen to seven), this article did indeed fail to obtain a constitutional majority, the vote of New Jersey not being counted, in consequence of there being but one delegate from that State present; yet it had been drawn up by Mr. Jefferson, introduced by Mr. Jefferson, and sustained by Mr. Jefferson's vote. Nevertheless, Mr. Douglas persists in calling

a plan, from which the peculiar Jeffersonian feature had been struck out, the "Jeffersonian plan." This is the play of Hamlet with the character of Hamlet omitted.

"This charter of compact," proceeds Mr. Douglas, "with its fundamental conditions, which were unalterable without the joint consent of the people interested in them, as well as of the United States, then stood upon the statute book unrepealed and irrepealable, when, on the 14th day of May, 1787, the federal convention met at Philadelphia."

Does Mr. Douglas not know that on the 16th of March, 1785, a proposition was introduced in Congress by Rufus King, to exclude slavery from the States described in the resolve of April 23, 1784, and to make this provision part of the compact established by that resolve? Does he not know that this provision, restoring the Jeffersonian feature to the "Jeffersonian plan," was committed, by the vote of eight States against four?

Does he not know that the plan of 1784 never went into practical operation, but was expressly set aside by Congress in 1787? Does he not know that the ordinance of 1787 was the first legislative act ever practically organizing a Territory of the United States, and that one of its most prominent features was the proviso excluding slavery from all the Territories then in possession of the United States?

Mr. Douglas's historical recollections of the ordinance of 1787 seem to be very indistinct. Indeed, he deems it only worthy of an occasional, passing, almost contemptuous notice. He speaks of it as "the ordinance of the 12th of July, 1787, which was passed by the remnant of the Congress of the Confederation, sitting in New York, while its most eminent members were at Philadelphia, as delegates to the federal convention."

For three quarters of a century, people were in the habit of thinking that the ordinance of 1787 was an act of the highest order of importance, but we now learn that it was a rather indifferent affair, passed on an indifferent occasion, by an exceedingly indifferent set of fellows, while the plan of 1784, a mere abstract program, completely overruled by subsequent legislation, is represented as the true glory of the age. How is this?

The reason is obvious. Mr. Douglas belongs to that class of historians who dwell upon those facts which suit their convenience, and unceremoniously drop the rest. I once heard of a Jesuit college where they used a text book of history, in which the French Revolution was never mentioned, while the Emperor Napoleon figured there only as a modest Marquis Bonaparte, who held a commission under Louis XVII, and fought great battles for the glory of the Catholic Church.

So it is with Mr. Douglas and the history of this country. He ignores the universal principles of the Declaration of Independence, and represents the great founders of the Republic as merely paving the way for his "great principles," while a few village politicians get up an obscure ordinance, adverse to the general tendency of things.

But as those Jesuits never could prevent their students from peeping out of their college windows into the wide world, where they perceived a very different state of things, so Mr. Douglas cannot prevent us from travelling out of the yellow covers of "Harper's Magazine," into the open records of history, where we find Mr. Jefferson's anti-slavery clause, although accidentally lost in 1784, strenuously insisted upon by the leading spirits of the Republic, incorporated in the great act of 1787, solemnly reaffirmed by the first Congress

under the constitution, and firmly maintained even against the petition of the people of one of the Territories.

This is the true "Jeffersonian plan," the plan which Jefferson framed, voted for, and which was carried out in his spirit; not that mangled report of 1784, which Mr. Douglas wants us to take as the foundation of all Territorial government, because an historical accident happens to coincide with his schemes.

That true Jeffersonian plan rested, indeed, on the principle of popular sovereignty, but it will be conceded that Mr. Jefferson's great principle was as widely different from that of Mr. Douglas as the ordinance of 1787 is different from the Nebraska bill. While Mr. Jefferson's notion of popular sovereignty sprung from the idea that man has certain inalienable rights which the majority shall not encroach upon, Mr. Douglas's doctrine rests upon the idea that the highest development of liberty consists in the right of one class of men to hold another class of men as slaves, if they see fit to do so.

While Mr. Jefferson excluded slavery from the Territories, in order to make room for true popular sovereignty, Mr. Douglas invents his false popular sovereignty in order to make room for slavery. The ordinance of 1787, the true "Jeffersonian plan," was indeed no mere accident, no mere occasional act of legislation. It sprang from the idea, as Madison expressed it, "that republican institutions would become a fallacy where slavery existed;" and in order to guarantee republican institutions to the Territories they excluded slavery.

The ordinance of 1787 was the logical offspring of the principles upon which your independence and your constitution are founded; it is the practical application of the Declaration of Independence on the government of the Territories.

Its very existence sets completely at nought Mr. Douglas's doctrine and historical construction, and the dwarfish hand of the demagogue tries in vain to tear this bright page out of your annals.

The ordinance of 1787 stands written on the very gate-posts of the Northwestern States; written on every grain-field that waves in the breeze, on every factory that dots the course of their rushing waters, on every cottage that harbors thrifty freemen; written in every heart that rejoices over the blessings of liberty.

There it stands, in characters of light. Only a blind man cannot see it; only a fool can misunderstand it; only a knave can wilfully misinterpret it.

Such is Mr. Douglas's principle of popular sovereignty in its logical and historical aspect; apparently adopting the doctrine that slavery is the creature of local law only, and fighting against a congressional slave code, but, on the other hand, admitting the very principle on which protection to slave property becomes a logical necessity; and again assuming the ground that slave property may be introduced where there is no local law, but explaining away the logical consequences of that doctrine by the transparent sophistry of unfriendly legislation; dragging the proudest exploits of American statesmanship into the dust; emasculating the Declaration of Independence, because incompatible with its principles; setting aside the ordinance of 1787, because that stern fact is a conclusive historical argument against it; a jesuitical piece of equivocation and double dealing, unable to stand before the criticism of a logical mind, because it is a mixture of glaring contradictions; unable to stop the war of principles and interests, because it is at war with itself.

It is true, its principal champion worked hard to cover

with bullying boisterousness the moral cowardice from which it sprang; but in vain. He mistakes the motive power which shapes the actions of free nations. Having no moral convictions of his own to stand upon, he could never address himself to the moral sense of the people.

Having no moral convictions of his own! This is a grave charge, but I know what I say. I respect true convictions wherever I find them. Among the fire-eaters of the South, there are men who speak of the moral basis of slavery and believe in it; who speak of the blessings of servitude and believe in it; who assert that slavery is right and believe it.

Atrocious as their errors may be, and deeply as I deplore them, yet I respect their convictions as soon as I find them out. But look into the record of the champion of "popular sovereignty;" scan it from syllable to syllable; and then tell me, you Douglasites of the South, do you find one word there indicating a moral conviction that slavery is right? And you Douglasites of the North, who are in the habit of telling us that you are the true anti-slavery men, and that popular sovereignty will surely work the overthrow of the institution, did your master ever utter a similar sentiment? Do you find in his record one word of sympathy with the down-trodden and degraded? One spark of the humane philosophy of our age? One syllable in vindication of the outraged dignity of human nature? One word which might indicate a moral conviction that slavery is wrong? Not one!

But one thing he does tell you: "I do not care whether slavery be voted up or down!" There is then a human heart that does not care! Sir, look over this broad land, where the struggle has raged for years and years; and across the two oceans, around the globe, to the point where the far

West meets the far East; over the teeming countries where the cradle of mankind stood; and over the workshops of civilization in Europe, and over those mysterious regions under the tropical sun, which have not emerged yet from the night of barbarism to the daylight of civilized life — and then tell me, how many hearts do you find that do not tremble with mortal anguish or exultant joy as the scales of human freedom or human bondage go up or down?

Look over the history of the world from the time when infant mankind felt in its heart the first throbbings of aspiring dignity down to our days when the rights of man have at last found a bold and powerful champion in a great and mighty Republic; where is the page that is not spotted with blood and tears shed in that all-absorbing struggle; where a chapter which does not tell the tale of jubilant triumph or heart-breaking distress as the scales of freedom or slavery went up or down?

But to-day, in the midst of the nineteenth century, in a Republic whose program was laid down in the Declaration of Independence, there comes a man to you and tells you with cynical coolness that he does not care! And because he does not care, he claims the confidence of his countrymen and the highest honors of the Republic! Because he does not care, he pretends to be the representative statesman of this age!

Sir, I always thought that he can be no true statesman whose ideas and conceptions are not founded upon profound moral convictions of right and wrong. What, then, shall we say of him who boastingly parades his indifference as a virtue? May we not drop the discussion about his statesmanship and ask, What is he worth as a man?

Yes; he mistakes the motive power which shapes the events

of history. I find that in the life of free nations mere legal disquisitions never turned the tide of events, and mere constitutional constructions never determined the tendency of an age. The logic of things goes its steady way, immovable to eloquence and deaf to argument. It shapes and changes laws and constitutions according to its immutable rules, and those adverse to it will prove no effectual obstruction to its onward march. In times of great conflicts the promptings and dictates of the human conscience are more potent than all the inventive ingenuity of the human brain.

The conscience of a free people, when once fairly ruling the action of the masses, will never fail to make new laws, when those existing are contrary to its tendency, or it will put its own construction upon those that are there. Your disquisitions and plausibilities may be used as weapons and stratagems in a fencing-match of controversing parties; but, powerless as they are before the conscience of man, posterity will remember them only as mere secondary incidents of a battle of great principles in which the strongest motive powers of human nature were the true combatants.

There is the slavery question; not a mere occasional quarrel between two sections of country divided by a geographical line, not a mere contest between two economical interests for the preponderance, not a mere wrangle between two political parties for power and spoils; but the great struggle between the human conscience and a burning wrong, between advancing civilization and retreating barbarism, between two antagonistic systems of social organization.

In vain will our impotent mock giants endeavor to make the test question of our age turn on a ridiculous logical quibble, or a paltry legal technicality; in vain will they invent small dodges and call them "great principles;" in vain

will they attempt to drag down the all-absorbing contest to the level of a mere pot-house quarrel between two rival candidates for a presidential nomination.

The wheel of progressing events will crush them to atoms, as it has crushed so many abnormities, and a future generation will perhaps read on Mr. Douglas's tombstone the inscription:

"Here lies the queer sort of a statesman, who, when the great battle of slavery was fought, pretended to say that he did not care whether slavery be voted up or voted down."

But as long as the moral vitality of this nation is not entirely exhausted, Mr. Douglas, and men like him, will in vain endeavor to reduce the people to that disgusting state of moral indifference which he himself is not ashamed to boast of. I solemnly protest that the American people are not to be measured by Mr. Douglas's low moral standard. However degraded some of our politicians may be, the progress of the struggle will show that the popular conscience is still alive, and that the people do care!

THE POLICY OF IMPERIALISM

ADDRESS AT THE ANTI-IMPERIALISTIC CONFERENCE IN CHICAGO, OCTOBER 17, 1899

MORE than eight months ago I had the honor of addressing the citizens of Chicago on the subject of American imperialism, meaning the policy of annexing to this Republic distant countries and alien populations that will not fit into our democratic system of government. I discussed at that time mainly the baneful effect the

pursuit of an imperialistic policy would produce upon our political institutions.

After long silence, during which I have carefully reviewed my own opinions as well as those of others in the light of the best information I could obtain, I shall now approach the same subject from another point of view.

We all know that the popular mind is much disturbed by the Philippine war, and that, however highly we admire the bravery of our soldiers, nobody professes to be proud of the war itself. There are few Americans who do not frankly admit their regret that this war should ever have happened.

In April, 1898, we went to war with Spain for the avowed purpose of liberating the people of Cuba, who had long been struggling for freedom and independence. Our object in that war was clearly and emphatically proclaimed by a solemn resolution of Congress repudiating all intention of annexation on our part and declaring that the Cuban people "are, and of right ought to be, free and independent." This solemn declaration was made to do justice to the spirit of the American people, who were indeed willing to wage a war of liberation, but would not have consented to a war of conquest. It was also to propitiate the opinion of mankind for our action. President McKinley also declared with equal solemnity that annexation by force could not be thought of, because, according to our code of morals, it would be "criminal aggression."

Can it justly be pretended that these declarations referred only to the island of Cuba? What would the American people, what would the world have said, if Congress had resolved that the Cuban people were indeed rightfully entitled to freedom and independence, but that as to the people of other Spanish colonies we recognized no such right; and if President McKinley had declared that the forcible annexation

of Cuba would be criminal, but that the forcible annexation of other Spanish colonies would be a righteous act? A general outburst of protest from our own people, and of derision and contempt from the whole world, would have been the answer. No; there can be no cavil. That war was proclaimed to all mankind to be a war of liberation, and not of conquest, and even now our very imperialists are still boasting that the war was prompted by the most unselfish and generous purposes, and that those insult us who do not believe it.

In the course of that war Commodore Dewey, by a brilliant feat of arms, destroyed the Spanish fleet in the harbor of Manila. This did not change the heralded character of the war — certainly not in Dewey's own opinion. The Filipinos, constituting the strongest and foremost tribe of the population of the archipelago, had long been fighting for freedom and independence, just as the Cubans had. The great mass of the other islanders sympathized with them. They fought for the same cause as the Cubans, and they fought against the same enemy — the same enemy against whom we were waging our war of humanity and liberation. They had the same title to freedom and independence which we recognized as "of right" in the Cubans — nay, more, for, as Admiral Dewey telegraphed to our government, "They are far superior in their intelligence, and more capable of self-government than the natives of Cuba." The Admiral adds: "I am familiar with both races, and further intercourse with them has confirmed me in this opinion."

Indeed, the mendacious stories spread by our imperialists which represent those people as barbarians, their doings as mere "savagery," and their chiefs as no better than "cut-throats," have been refuted by such a mass of authoritative testimony, coming in part from men who are themselves

imperialists, that their authors should hide their heads in shame; for surely it is not the part of really brave men to calumniate their victims before sacrificing them. We need not praise the Filipinos as in every way the equals of the "embattled farmers" of Lexington and Concord, and Aguinaldo as the peer of Washington; but there is an overwhelming abundance of testimony, some of it unwilling, that the Filipinos are fully the equals, and even the superiors, of the Cubans and the Mexicans. As to Aguinaldo, Admiral Dewey is credited with saying that he is controlled by men abler than himself. The same could be said of more than one of our Presidents. Moreover, it would prove that those are greatly mistaken who predict that the Filipino uprising would collapse were Aguinaldo captured or killed. The old slander that Aguinaldo had sold out the revolutionary movement for a bribe of $400,000 has been so thoroughly exploded by the best authority that it required uncommon audacity to repeat it.

Now let us see what has happened. Two months before the beginning of our Spanish war our consul at Manila reported to the State Department: "Conditions here and in Cuba are practically alike. War exists, battles are almost of daily occurrence. The crown forces (Spanish) have not been able to dislodge a rebel army within ten miles of Manila. A republic is organized here as in Cuba." When two months later our war of liberation and humanity began, Commodore Dewey was at Hongkong with his ships. He received orders to attack and destroy the Spanish fleet in those waters. It was then that our consul-general at Singapore informed our State Department that he had conferred with General Aguinaldo, then at Singapore, as to the co-operation of the Philippine insurgents, and that he had telegraphed to Commodore Dewey

that Aguinaldo was willing to come to Hongkong to arrange with Dewey for "general co-operation, if desired;" whereupon Dewey promptly answered: "Tell Aguinaldo come soon as possible." The meeting was had. Dewey sailed to Manila to destroy the Spanish fleet, and Aguinaldo was taken to the seat of war on a vessel of the United States. His forces received a supply of arms through Commodore Dewey, and did faithfully and effectively co-operate with our forces against the Spaniards, so effectively, indeed, that soon afterward by their efforts the Spaniards had lost the whole country except a few garrisons in which they were practically blockaded.

Now, what were the relations between the Philippine insurgents and this Republic? There is some dispute as to certain agreements, including a promise of Philippine independence, said to have been made between Aguinaldo and our consul-general at Singapore, before Aguinaldo proceeded to co-operate with Dewey. But I lay no stress upon this point. I will let only the record of facts speak. Of these facts the first, of highest importance, is that Aguinaldo was "desired"—that is, invited — by officers of the United States to co-operate with our forces. The second is that the Filipino junta in Hongkong immediately after these conferences appealed to their countrymen to receive the American fleet about to sail for Manila as friends, by a proclamation which had these words:

"Compatriots, divine Providence is about to place independence within our reach. The Americans, not from any mercenary motives, but for the sake of humanity, have considered it opportune to extend their protecting mantle to our beloved country. Where you see the American flag flying assemble in mass. They are our redeemers."

With this faith his followers gave Aguinaldo a rapturous greeting upon his arrival at Cavité, where he proclaimed his government and organized his army under Dewey's eyes.

The arrival of our land forces did not at first change these relations. Brig.-Gen. Thomas M. Anderson, commanding, wrote to Aguinaldo, July 4, as follows: "General, I have the honor to inform you that the United States of America, whose land forces I have the honor to command in this vicinity, being at war with the kingdom of Spain, has entire sympathy and most friendly sentiments for the native people of the Philippine Islands. For these reasons I desire to have the most amicable relations with you, and to have you and your people co-operate with us in military operations against the Spanish forces," etc. Aguinaldo responded cordially, and an extended correspondence followed, special services being asked for by the party of the first part, being rendered by the second, and duly acknowledged by the first. All this went on pleasantly until the capture of Manila, in which Aguinaldo effectively co-operated by fighting the Spaniards outside, taking many prisoners from them, and hemming them in. The services they rendered by taking thousands of Spanish prisoners, by harassing the Spaniards in the trenches, and by completely blockading Manila on the land side, were amply testified to by our own officers. Aguinaldo was also active on the sea. He had ships, which our commanders permitted to pass in and out of Manila Bay, under the flag of the Philippine republic, on their expeditions against other provinces.

Now, whether there was or not any formal compact of alliance signed and sealed, no candid man who has studied the official documents will deny that in point of fact the Filipinos, having been desired and invited to do so, were, before the capture of Manila, acting, and were practically recognized as

our allies, and that as such they did effective service, which we accepted and profited by. This is an indisputable fact, proved by the record.

It is an equally indisputable fact that during that period the Filipino government constantly and publicly, so that nobody could plead ignorance of it or misunderstand it, informed the world that their object was the achievement of national independence, and that they believed the Americans had come in good faith to help them accomplish that end, as in the case of Cuba. It was weeks after various proclamations and other public utterances of Aguinaldo to that effect that the correspondence between him and General Anderson, which I have quoted, took place, and that the useful services of the Filipinos as our practical allies were accepted. It is, further, an indisputable fact that during this period our government did not inform the Filipinos that their fond expectations as to our recognition of their independence were mistaken.

Our secretary of state did, indeed, on June 16 write to Mr. Pratt, our consul-general at Singapore, that our government knew the Philippine insurgents, not indeed as patriots struggling for liberty, and who, like the Cubans, "are and of right ought to be free and independent," but merely as "discontented and rebellious subjects of Spain," who, if we occupied their country in consequence of the war, would have to yield us due "obedience." And other officers of our government were instructed not to make any promises to the Filipinos as to the future. But the Filipinos themselves were not so informed. They were left to believe that, while fighting in co-operation with the American forces, they were fighting for their own independence. They could not imagine that the government of the great American Republic, while boasting

of having gone to war with Spain under the banner of liberation and humanity in behalf of Cuba, was capable of secretly plotting to turn that war into one for the conquest and subjugation of the Philippines.

Thus the Filipinos went faithfully and bravely on doing for us the service of allies, of brothers-in-arms, far from dreaming that the same troops with whom they had been asked to co-operate would soon be employed by the great apostle of liberation and humanity to slaughter them for no other reason than that they, the Filipinos, continued to stand up for their own freedom and independence.

But just that was to happen. As soon as Manila was taken and we had no further use for our Filipino allies, they were ordered to fall back and back from the city and its suburbs. Our military commanders treated the Filipinos' country as if it were our own. When Aguinaldo sent one of his aides-de-camp to General Merritt with a request for an interview, General Merritt was "too busy." When our peace negotiations with Spain began, and representatives of the Filipinos asked for audience to solicit consideration of the rights and wishes of their people, the doors were slammed in their faces, in Washington as well as in Paris.

And behind those doors the scheme was hatched to deprive the Philippine Islanders of independence from foreign rule and to make them the subjects of another foreign ruler, and that foreign ruler their late ally, this great Republic which had grandly proclaimed to the world that its war against Spain was not a war of conquest, but a war of liberation and humanity.

Behind those doors which were tightly closed to the people of the Philippines a treaty was made with Spain, by the direction of President McKinley, which provided for the cession

of the Philippine Islands by Spain to the United States for a consideration of $20,000,000. It has been said that this sum was not purchase money, but a compensation for improvements made by Spain, or a *solatium* to sweeten the pill of cession, or what not; but, stripped of all cloudy verbiage, it was really purchase money, the sale being made by Spain under duress. Thus Spain sold, and the United States bought, what was called the sovereignty of Spain over the Philippine Islands and their people.

Now look at the circumstances under which that "cession" was made. Spain had lost the possession of the country, except a few isolated and helpless little garrisons, most of which were effectively blockaded by the Filipinos. The American forces occupied Cavité and the harbor and city of Manila, and nothing more. The bulk of the country was occupied and possessed by the people thereof, over whom Spain had, in point of fact, ceased to exercise any sovereignty, the Spanish power having been driven out or destroyed by the Filipino insurrection, while the United States had not acquired, beyond Cavité and Manila, any authority of whatever name by military occupation, nor by recognition on the part of the people. Aguinaldo's army surrounded Manila on the land side, and his government claimed organized control over fifteen provinces. That government was established at Malolos, not far from Manila; and a very respectable government it was. According to Mr. Barrett, our late minister in Siam, himself an ardent imperialist, who had seen it, it had a well-organized executive, divided into several departments, ably conducted, and a popular assembly, a congress, which would favorably compare with the Parliament of Japan — an infinitely better government than the insurrectionary government of Cuba ever was.

It is said that Aguinaldo's government was in operation among only a part of the people of the islands. This is true. But it is also certain that it was recognized and supported by an immeasurably larger part of the people than Spanish sovereignty, which had practically ceased to exist, and than American rule, which was confined to a harbor and a city and which was carried on by the exercise of military force under what was substantially martial law over a people that constituted about one twentieth of the whole population of the islands. Thus, having brought but a very small fraction of the country and its people under our military control, we bought by that treaty the sovereignty over the whole from a power which had practically lost that sovereignty and therefore did no longer possess it; and we contemptuously disdained to consult the existing native government, which actually did control a large part of the country and the people, and which had been our ally in the war with Spain. The sovereignty we thus acquired may well be defined as Abraham Lincoln once defined the "popular sovereignty" of Senator Douglas's doctrine — as being like a soup made by boiling the shadow of the breastbone of a pigeon that had been starved to death.

No wonder that treaty found opposition in the Senate. Virulent abuse was heaped upon the "statesman who would oppose the ratification of a peace treaty." A peace treaty? This was no peace treaty at all. It was a treaty with half a dozen bloody wars in its belly. It was, in the first place, an open and brutal declaration of war against our allies, the Filipinos, who struggled for freedom and independence from foreign rule. Every man not totally blind could see that. For such a treaty the true friends of peace could, of course, not vote.

But more. Even before that treaty had been assented to by the Senate — that is, even before that ghastly shadow of our Philippine sovereignty had obtained any legal sanction — President McKinley assumed of his own motion the sovereignty of the Philippine Islands by his famous "benevolent-assimilation" order of December 21, 1898, through which our military commander at Manila was directed forthwith to extend the military government of the United States over the whole archipelago, and by which the Filipinos were notified that if they refused to submit, they would be compelled by force of arms. Having bravely fought for their freedom and independence from one foreign rule, they did refuse to submit to another foreign rule, and then the slaughter of our late allies began — the slaughter by American arms of a once friendly and confiding people. And this slaughter has been going on ever since.

This is a grim story. Two years ago the prediction of such a possibility would have been regarded as a hideous nightmare, as the offspring of a diseased imagination. But to-day it is a true tale — a plain recital of facts taken from the official records. These things have actually been done in these last two years by and under the administration of William McKinley. This is our Philippine war as it stands. Is it a wonder that the American people should be troubled in their consciences? . . .

I am not here as a partisan, but as an American citizen anxious for the future of the Republic. And I cannot too earnestly admonish the American people, if they value the fundamental principles of their government and their own security and that of their children, for a moment to throw aside all partisan bias and soberly to consider what kind of a precedent they would set if they consented to, and by con-

senting approved, the President's management of the Philippine business merely "because we are in it."

We cannot expect all our future Presidents to be models of public virtue and wisdom, as George Washington was. Imagine now in the presidential office a man well-meaning, but, it may be, short-sighted and pliable, and under the influence of so-called "friends" who are greedy and reckless speculators, and who would not scruple to push him into warlike complications in order to get great opportunities for profit; or a man of that inordinate ambition which intoxicates the mind and befogs the conscience; or a man of extreme partisan spirit, who honestly believes the victory of his party to be necessary for the salvation of the universe, and may think that a foreign broil would serve the chances of his party; or a man of an uncontrollable combativeness of temperament which might run away with his sense of responsibility — and that we shall have such men in the presidential chair is by no means unlikely with our loose way of selecting candidates for the presidency.

Imagine, then, a future President belonging to either of these classes to have before him the precedent of Mr. McKinley's management of the Philippine business, sanctioned by the approval or only the acquiescence of the people, and to feel himself permitted — nay, even encouraged — to say to himself that, as this precedent shows, he may plunge the country into warlike conflicts of his own motion, without asking leave of Congress, with only some legal technicalities to cover his usurpation, or even without such, and that he may, by a machinery of deception called a war censorship, keep the people in the dark about what is going on; and that, into however bad a mess he may have got the country, he may count upon the people, as soon as a drop of blood has been

shed, to uphold the usurpation and to cry down everybody who opposes it as a "traitor," and all this because "we are in it!" Can you conceive a more baneful precedent, a more prolific source of danger to the peace and security of the country? Can any sane man deny that it will be all the more prolific of evil if in this way we drift into a foreign policy full of temptation for dangerous adventure?

I say, therefore, that if we have the future of the Republic at heart we must not only not uphold the administration in its course because "we are in it," but just because we are in it, have been got into it in such a way, the American people should stamp the administration's proceedings with a verdict of disapproval so clear and emphatic and "get out of it" in such a fashion that this will be a solemn warning to future Presidents instead of a seductive precedent.

What, then, to accomplish this end is to be done? Of course we, as we are here, can only advise. But by calling forth expressions of the popular will by various means of public demonstration and, if need be, at the polls, we can make that advice so strong that those in power will hardly disregard it. We have often been taunted with having no positive policy to propose. But such a policy has more than once been proposed and I can only repeat it.

In the first place, let it be well understood that those are egregiously mistaken who think that if by a strong military effort the Philippine war be stopped everything will be right and no more question about it. No; the American trouble of conscience will not be appeased, and the question will be as big and virulent as ever, unless the close of the war be promptly followed by an assurance to the islanders of their freedom and independence, which assurance, if given now, would surely end the war without more fighting.

We propose, therefore, that it be given now. Let the Philippine islanders at the same time he told that the American people will be glad to see them establish an independent government, and to aid them in that task as far as may be necessary, and even, if required, lend our good offices to bring it about; and that meanwhile we shall deem it our duty to protect them against interference from other foreign powers — in other words, that with regard to them we mean honestly to live up to the righteous principles with the profession of which we commended to the world our Spanish war.

And then let us have in the Philippines, to carry out this program, not a small politician, nor a meddlesome martinet, but a statesman of large mind and genuine sympathy, who will not merely deal in sanctimonious cant and oily promises with a string to them, but who will prove by his acts that he and we are honest; who will keep in mind that their government is not merely to suit us, but to suit them; that it should not be measured by standards which we ourselves have not been able to reach, but be a government of their own, adapted to their own conditions and notions — whether it be a true republic, like ours, or a dictatorship like that of Porfirio Diaz, in Mexico, or an oligarchy like the one maintained by us in Hawaii, or even something like the boss rule we are tolerating in New York and Pennsylvania.

Those who talk so much about "fitting a people for self-government" often forget that no people were ever made "fit" for self-government by being kept in the leading strings of a foreign power. You learn to walk by doing your own crawling and stumbling. Self-government is learned only by exercising it upon one's own responsibility. Of course there will be mistakes and troubles and disorders. We have had and now have these, too — at the beginning

our persecution of the Tories, our flounderings before the constitution was formed, our Shay's rebellion, our whisky war, and various failures and disturbances, among them a civil war that cost us a loss of life and treasure horrible to think of, and the murder of two Presidents. But who will say that on account of these things some foreign power should have kept the American people in leading strings to teach them to govern themselves? If the Philippine islanders do as well as the Mexicans, who have worked their way, since we let them alone after our war of 1847, through many disorders, to an orderly government, who will have a right to find fault with the result? Those who seek to impose upon them an unreasonable standard of excellence in self-government do not seriously wish to let them govern themselves at all. You may take it as a general rule that he who wants to reign over others is solemnly convinced that they are quite unable to govern themselves.

Now, what objection is there to the policy dictated by our fundamental principles and our good faith? I hear the angry cry: "What? Surrender to Aguinaldo? Will not the world ridicule and despise us for such a confession of our incompetency to deal with so feeble a foe? What will become of our prestige?" No, we shall not surrender to Aguinaldo. In giving up a criminal aggression we shall surrender only to our own consciences, to our own sense of right and justice, to our own understanding of our own true interests, and to the vital principles of our own Republic. Nobody will laugh at us whose good opinion we have reason to cherish. There will of course be an outcry of disappointment in England. But from whom will it come? From such men as James Bryce or John Morley or any one of those true friends of this Republic who understand and admire and wish to per-

petuate and spread the fundamental principles of its vitality? No, not from them.

But the outcry will come from those in England who long to see us entangled in complications apt to make this American Republic dependent upon British aid and thus subservient to British interests. They, indeed, will be quite angry. But the less we mind their displeasure as well as their flattery the better for the safety as well as the honor of our country.

The true friends of this Republic in England, and, indeed, all over the world, who are now grieving to see us go astray, will rejoice and their hearts will be uplifted with new confidence in our honesty, in our wisdom, and in the virtue of democratic institutions when they behold the American people throwing aside all the puerilities of false pride and returning to the path of their true duty. . . .

Who are the true patriots in America to-day — those who drag our Republic, once so proud of its high principles and ideals, through the mire of broken pledges, vulgar ambitions and vanities and criminal aggressions; those who do violence to their own moral sense by insisting that, like the Dreyfus iniquity, a criminal course once begun must be persisted in, or those who, fearless of the demagogue clamor, strive to make the flag of the Republic once more what it was once — the flag of justice, liberty, and true civilization — and to lift up the American people among the nations of the earth to the proud position of the people that have a conscience and obey it.

The country has these days highly and deservedly honored Admiral Dewey as a national hero. Who are his true friends — those who would desecrate Dewey's splendid achievement at Manila by making it the starting point of criminal aggres-

sion, and thus the opening of a most disgraceful and inevitably disastrous chapter of American history, to be remembered with sorrow, or those who strive so to shape the results of that brilliant feat of arms that it may stand in history not as a part of a treacherous conquest, but as a true victory of American good faith in an honest war of liberation and humanity — to be proud of for all time, as Dewey himself no doubt meant it to be.

I know the imperialists will say that I have been pleading here for Aguinaldo and his Filipinos against our Republic. No, not for the Filipinos merely, although, as one of those who have grown gray in the struggle for free and honest government, I would never be ashamed to plead for the cause of freedom and independence, even when its banner is carried by dusky and feeble hands. But I am pleading for more. I am pleading for the cause of American honor and self-respect, American interests, American democracy; aye, for the cause of the American people against an administration of our public affairs which has wantonly plunged this country into an iniquitous war; which has disgraced the Republic by a scandalous breach of faith to a people struggling for their freedom whom we had used as allies; which has been systematically seeking to deceive and mislead the public mind by the manufacture of false news; which has struck at the very foundation of our constitutional government by an Executive usurpation of the war power; which makes sport of the great principles and high ideals that have been and should ever remain the guiding star of our course, and which, unless stopped in time, will transform this government of the people, for the people, and by the people into an imperial government cynically calling itself republican — a government in which the noisy worship of arrogant might will

drown the voice of right; which will impose upon the people a burdensome and demoralizing militarism, and which will be driven into a policy of wild and rapacious adventure by the unscrupulous greed of the exploiter — a policy always fatal to democracy.

I plead the cause of the American people against all this, and I here declare my profound conviction that if this administration of our affairs were submitted for judgment to a popular vote on a clear issue it would be condemned by an overwhelming majority.

I confidently trust that the American people will prove themselves too clear-headed not to appreciate the vital difference between the expansion of the Republic and its free institutions over contiguous territory and kindred populations, which we all gladly welcome if accomplished peaceably or honorably, and imperialism which reaches out for distant lands to be ruled as subject provinces; too intelligent not to perceive that our very first step on the road of imperialism has been a betrayal of the fundamental principles of democracy, followed by disaster and disgrace; too enlightened not to understand that a monarchy may do such things and still remain a strong monarchy, while a democracy cannot do them and still remain a democracy; too wise not to detect the false pride, or the dangerous ambitions, or the selfish schemes which so often hide themselves under that deceptive cry of mock patriotism: "Our country, right or wrong!" They will not fail to recognize that our dignity, our free institutions, and the peace and welfare of this and coming generations of Americans will be secure only as we cling to the watchword of true patriotism: "Our country — when right to be kept right; when wrong to be put right."

CANON LIDDON

HENRY PARRY LIDDON, D.D., D.C.L., distinguished English preacher and theologian, leader of the Anglo-Catholic party, was born at North Stoneham, Hampshire, Aug. 20, 1829, and died at Weston-super-Mare, Sept. 9, 1890. He was educated at King's College School, London, and at Christ Church, Oxford, and in 1850 took orders in the Anglican church. After filling a curacy in Wantage, in which his great talent for preaching began to manifest itself, he became in 1854 vice-principal of Cuddesdon Theological College. In 1859, he accepted the vice-principalship of St. Edward's Hall, Oxford; and four years later was appointed select preacher to Oxford University (being thrice reappointed to the office) and was also twice select preacher to Cambridge University. In 1864, he was named examining chaplain to the Bishop of Salisbury and given a prebend's stall in Salisbury Cathedral. In 1870, his lectures at St. James's Church, Piccadilly, attracted wide attention and brought him the offer of a canonry at St. Paul's Cathedral, which he accepted. For the next twenty years his sermons at St. Paul's were the great Sunday feature of London life, attracting thither men of all ranks, conditions, and creeds. Liddon had formed his style on a careful study of such great French preachers as Massillon, Bourdaloue, and Lacordaire, and owed to this study not a little of the artistic construction of his sermons. "His discourses were masterly and impassioned efforts to prove and persuade, and to the attainment of his purpose, his enthusiasm, perfect intonation, gestures, learning, and argumentative skill contributed." He was a Liberal in politics, ardently supporting Gladstone in the anti-Turkish movement in 1876–78. In 1886, he declined the bishopric of Edinburgh, at other times also declining other offers of episcopal honor. His published works comprise "Some Words for God" (1865); republished as "Sermons Preached at Oxford"; "Some Elements of Religion" (1886); "Advent in St. Paul's" (1888); "The Magnificat" (1889); "Christmastide in St. Paul's" (1890); "Passiontide Series" (1891); "Sermons on Old Testament Subjects" (1891); "Sermons on Some Words of Christ" (1892); and "Essays and Addresses" (1892). He is best known as an author, however, by his Bampton lectures on "The Divinity of Our Lord."

SERMON: THE ADEQUACY OF PRESENT OPPORTUNITIES

"And he said unto him, If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead."—Luke xvi, 31.

ON this the first of the long line of Sundays after Trinity, the parable of the rich man and Lazarus opens the lessons on Christian duty, which are set before us in the successive gospels, with a force and a pathos which we feel from our early childhood — at least, if I may trust my own experience. The three vivid contrasts of this parable are among the very first features in the gospel to take possession of the imagination and the heart.

First there is the contrast between the rich and the poor — that great contrast which is apparently rooted in the nature of things, which reappears in all ages and countries wherever there is a settled order of human society. Dives, with his outer robe of purple wool and with his under tunic of fine linen — Dives, with his table furnished day after day with every delicacy that money can buy — he is always here. And Lazarus, thrown down — such is the original expression — thrown down, to lie at the gate of the outer court of the rich man's mansion — Lazarus who feeds upon the crumbs which the slaves of Dives, half contemptuously, throw to him — Lazarus so unclothed that his very wounds are without bandages, and the dogs that roam through the streets of the eastern city stop for a moment as they pass to lick his sores — he, too, is always here; a contrast, I say, as old and as lasting as society, a contrast which met the eye centuries ago in Rome and in Jerusalem, just as it meets it when we walk from the east to the west end of London; a contrast, it

must be added, which social science and wise legislation and above all the divine charities of Jesus Christ our Lord filling the regenerated hearts of men, makes less harsh, less shocking, but the cause of which they cannot really remove.

And there is a second contrast — that of the living and the dead. The parable places us face to face with Dives and Lazarus, first in life and then in the world which follows. This is a more solemn contrast than that between the rich and the poor. It is a contrast between that which passes and that which lasts — between appearance and reality.

Lazarus — so we are told — dies in time, worn out, no doubt, by want and sickness. Nothing is said of his burial: perhaps he was not buried at all. And after a while Dives dies too, and of course is buried — buried with all due respect and ceremony. And after the brief sleep of death they wake, as we shall all one day wake, in a new world. The life of that world is a continuation of the life of this. Circumstances are altered; characters remain. Enough now to repeat that what we see here is the apparent: what we shall see there is the real. And this contrast between the living and the dead is much more rooted in the nature of things than that between the rich and the poor. It is as old, it is as wide, it is as enduring, as the human race. Day by day men and women around us are exploring it: day by day they are passing the line which separates the living and the dead, and sounding the heights and depths of its stern, of its blessed, significance.

And the parable brings before us a third contrast, differing from the two former in this,— that whereas they belong, the first wholly, and the second in part, to this present world, this third is altogether concerned with the next. In the next

world there are two companies of beings, the miserable and the blessed. All are not blessed: numbers, thank God, are certainly not miserable. There Lazarus rests in the bosom of Abraham: there Dives lifts up his eyes being in torment. And between the two there is a great gulf fixed, "so that," in Abraham's words, "they which would pass from hence to you cannot; neither can they pass to us, that would come from thence."

A contrast, my brethren, yet more solemn than that between the living and the dead — a contrast which will still endure when all that now meets the eye of sense shall have passed away.

As we dwell on our Saviour's words we are, perhaps, tempted to say to ourselves, "After all, it is only a parable."

Well brethren, it is a parable, although it is possibly also a history. There is something, at any rate, to be said for the opinion that Dives and Lazarus were real persons with whose earthly circumstances our Lord's hearers were acquainted, and whose destiny after death he authoritatively proclaims.

But, however this may be, a parable, though it be a purely fictitious narrative, teaches something when it comes from the mouth of the Master of Eternal Truth. Its imagery, its rabbinical phraseology, its incidents — these all, each of them, do mean something. They may be translated into corresponding realities. And this parable, I submit, if it teaches anything at all, can certainly teach nothing less than these three contrasts — the contrasts between the rich — the selfish rich — and the poor, the suffering poor; the contrast between the living and the dead; the contrast between the happy and the miserable in another world.

Now is it to the last of these three contrasts that our text

belongs? Dives and Lazarus are now among the dead, not yet separated, as they will be after the final judgment, but separated, we are told, by an impassable gulf. They are in that sphere of being into one district of which our Lord descended after his death, and which we call "hell" in the creed,— which contains, on the one hand, paradise and Abraham's bosom — anticipations, these, of a perfect happiness to come; and which also contains that which is already the portion of Dives while he awaits the final judgment. Yet between Dives and Abraham, it would seem, some sort of communication is still possible; and in this report or representation of the divine Teacher we have put before us two separate conversations.

First of all Dives petitions Abraham, as the father of all faithful Israelites, that a drop of water may be sent him by the hand of Lazarus; and Abraham tells his son — (mark the tragic irony of the expression) — that this cannot be, partly because an absolute justice is redressing the inequalities of that life on earth, and partly because there is a great gulf fixed: the divine reward is irreversible.

Then, since nothing can be done among the dead, Dives thinks of the living. Dives is ruined, as he now knows, not because he was rich, but because he abused his wealth. He has five brethren who are living as he once lived on earth. He thinks that if Lazarus could visit them, speaking of what happens beyond the grave with the authority of experience, they would be changed men. Abraham answers, "They have Moses and the prophets; let them hear them." Dives remembers that he in his earthly days had Moses and the prophets too, close at hand, and yet that he had died as he had lived; and so he pleads with Abraham that, if only a visitor from the realms of death should see them, these five brethren

would really repent. And to this Abraham answers again that, "if they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead."

Now perhaps if we were to say out what we really think — some of us — we should say that it seems to us, at first sight, almost hard in Abraham to answer Dives as he does answer him; for, after all, Dives was doing all that it was still possible for him to do. For himself, he was ruined — ruined irretrievably; but these five brethren — could nothing be done for them? If Lazarus might not cross the great gulf fixed, with a drop of water for the tongue of Dives, might he not visit the world of living men to speak a word of warning to the rich man's five surviving brethren?

No, Abraham will not allow that this demand is justified; for, if we translate the parable into the meaning which the divine Speaker and his hearers would alike put on it, what is this demand of Dives, virtually, but an indictment against God for not having furnished the rich Israelites of that day with sufficiently strong motives to holiness and amendment of life?

The Jewish opponents of Jesus Christ our Lord were continually asking in this way for signs and wonders, and our Lord was constantly replying that there were proofs enough and to spare, of his mission, in the law, in the prophets, in his own works, in his own words — proofs enough to dispense with anything of the kind.

Dives talks still like the ordinary Pharisees of the day. When he asks that Lazarus may be sent to his brethren, he implies, you observe, that if he himself had been visited by one who had seen the realities of the other life he would have lived and died quite differently. As it was, he had only had the old Book to fall back upon — only Moses and the

prophets. There was something, he tacitly suggests, there was something to be said for him, after all; and therefore when Abraham refers to the five brethren he means Dives himself as well. If Dives had not heard Moses and the prophets, neither would he have been persuaded, though one had risen from the dead to warn him.

Now this answer to Dives is undoubtedly meant to represent the mind and judgment of our Lord himself. Abraham in the parable declares the will of God, just as Dives puts into words the thoughts of the Pharisees of the day. Let us, then, consider this reply of Abraham somewhat more at length. What does it teach us?

It teaches us, first of all, how far the actual sight of a miracle would be likely to produce real faith in the unseen world. Dives let Lazarus lie at his gate. Why? Because he had no true belief in the unseen. The brethren of Dives would do their duty by such as Lazarus if they only could see, in all his perfections, him who is invisible — their present Master — their future Judge. Hundreds of men in our day, who have lost living faith in the religion of Jesus Christ our Lord, think that if they could only witness a miracle they could not help believing again — believing at once.

"It is all very well," they say, "to read in the gospels about the stilling the tempest, about feeding the five thousand, about the raising three persons from the dead, about the resurrection of the Lord himself. More than eighteen centuries have passed since those events, and there are no miracles, it seems, now. Let us see a miracle," they say; "let us have it examined and approved by competent persons, and, depend upon it, it will not fail in its effect. People will then believe, because they will not be able to help

believing in the truth of the creed which the miracle is intended to attest."

This, you observe, is exactly what Dives thought and said about the five brethren, if Lazarus were allowed to appear before them. The apparition, he thought, must make them live for another life — that is to say, live by faith. Moses and the prophets, he implied, had lost their power: they were old books dealing with matters which had been said and done hundreds of years ago. They were books which Dives and his brethren had known from childhood, and familiarity had bred indifference, or something worse.

And men ask now, in the heart of Christendom, "Is there not something in this?" Is not that which appeals to sense more powerful with most of us than that which appeals to thought? Is not the present more moving than the past — a witnessed action than a written testimony or an abstract argument? Would not a dead man standing before our eyes, telling us that he had revived to come from the regions of the dead, with an appearance and other evidences that justified his assertion, have, of necessity, an influence upon us which a Bible read quietly in our church, or in our bedroom, or a Christian teacher listened to under accustomed circumstances, could never command? Would not a preternatural apparition exert over us a sway, immediate, resistless, making us believers — earnest, clear-sighted, impartial believers — in spite of our very selves?

All these questions our Lord answers now, and for this answer the reasons are not hard to find. Miracles are called in the Bible, with reference to their effect upon the human mind, "signs and wonders." They excite astonishment: they call attention to the mission or message of the worker. A miracle is intended, first of all, to startle the beholder: it

is a wonder; and it is intended, next, to point toward the unseen and the eternal: it is a sign.

But even if the sight of a miracle produces these effects,— if it first startles the man, and next suggests that there is something which he does not see and which is worth his attention and belief — this does not amount to actual faith. It is one thing to be convinced of the truth of the unseen; it is another thing to be startled. At some time in our lives we must all of us have been startled by occurrences which, although unaccustomed, at least to us, could not be deemed miracles. A friend has died without any sort of warning. We have been in a railway accident in which several persons have lost their lives, and we have escaped — we know not how — through a series of unforeseen contingencies. Or some historical catastrophe, like the surrender of Sedan, or like the recent tragedies at Constantinople, has happened, and for the moment the world holds its breath, and seems to feel that God is passing along the corridors of human history. And events like these, on a small scale or a great, are intended to remind us that what we see and are is very insignificant indeed, compared with what we do not see and what we shall be. Events like these, though occurring in a strictly natural way, do, up to a certain point, the very proper work of miracles. They flash upon our minds for a moment the truth that God is not now only but always near, with his eye upon us, guarding us, judging us in his perfect truth, his perfect love, his perfect justice.

Ah, these occurrences startle us, but what does it amount to? A momentary sensation; a mental, a moral spasm, which comes and goes and leaves us as we were, or perhaps, religiously speaking, if it goes, not quite so well off as we were. Of course a shock of this kind, like St. Paul's great experi-

ence on the road to Damascus, may be our very door of entrance into the life of faith; but the shock of itself does not insure these consequences. Utter astonishment and bewilderment is one thing; faith in the unseen is another. A swift succession of several new phases of thought and feeling, produced by a grand catastrophe and compressed into a single minute, may be the turning point of an existence, or only a strange experience.

No doubt the five brethren and Dives too in his earthly lifetime would have been startled by the appearance of Lazarus, fresh from the scenes beyond the grave; but this does not at all prove that they would have been endued with that new and vivid perception of unseen things which we call faith.

For, secondly, a miracle is only likely to have real and lasting effect when it is addressed to a particular set of men. A sonata of Beethoven means nothing for a man who has no ear for music. A picture of Raphael is lost upon the observer who has no sense of color, of proportion, of artistic beauty. And, in the same way, the mind of the man who witnesses a miracle must be predisposed in a certain way, or the miracle will altogether fail of its intended effect.

The observer must, in the psalmist's words, have an eye to God, if he is to be enlightened by the miracle. He must be already looking out for God — looking out for some token of the will of God. He believes, we will suppose, in a vague way, that there is a Maker and Ruler of the world. He believes that there is an Author of the law of right and wrong which he recognizes within himself. Now, depend upon it, the more he makes of this law of right and wrong, the more disposed he will be to make the most of what will be told him on authority about the Being who gave the law.

In this state of mind he will watch anxiously for any sign that the Lord of nature may deign or seem to deign to make on the surface of nature, with a view to showing that he is also the Lord of conscience and the Lord of revelation. But if the man has no such interests, no such anticipations, to begin with, then the miracle says nothing to him; for him the miracle is a mere curious irregularity observable upon the surface of nature. It arrests his attention; perhaps it excites his apprehension for a moment; but that is all. And if he has already made up his mind against the truth of which the miracle is the divine certificate, then the miracle must be powerless to move him.

"If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead."

This was actually the case with those Jews, to whom our Lord was speaking, not long after. Moses and the prophets had foretold him — the true Messiah. "Search the Scriptures — your own Scriptures," he had said — "for in them ye think ye have eternal life: and they are they which testify of me."

But Moses and the prophets had written in vain, as far as that generation of Israelites was concerned. "Their table" — as prophet and apostle had said — "their table was made a snare to take themselves withal; and the things which should have been for their wealth were unto them an occasion of falling."

Scripture had failed. Could miracle succeed? Jesus Christ died in public; he was buried; on the third day he rose from the dead. His resurrection was a well-attested fact. Those who had known him best saw him singly — saw him with others. He was seen again and again during the period of forty days. On one occasion he was seen by five

hundred persons, half of whom were living some twenty-five years afterward. But were the Jews as a people convinced?

On the contrary, they set themselves at once to get rid of this stupendous miracle, intended though it was to convince them that he to whom their whole history pointed had really come, by every explanation they could devise. The disciples, they said, had stolen the body. The disciples had conspired to palm off an imposture on the world. Our Lord might as well have remained in his grave, as far as the great men in Jerusalem were concerned. They began, you see, by refusing to hear Moses and the prophets; they were not persuaded, though he, their true King, had risen from the dead.

Remember this, brethren, when you are tempted to think that faith would have been easier in the days of the apostles than it is now. "If a miracle could only be worked before my eyes," it is sometimes said, "I should have believed without difficulty."

Would you? The probability is that the very temper of mind which makes you ask for the miracle would kill belief in the presence of the miracle. Miracles are intended to assist those who are already seeking God. They are not intended to inflict the sense of God's power and presence and truth on those who do not wish to know more about him. A miracle cannot force a soul to believe: it does not act like a machine or like a chemical solvent, producing the specific effect whether men will or not.

There are many ways of neutralizing this proper effect; and if we have heard Moses and the prophets,— if we have listened to evangelists and apostles, and to the Lord of life himself, to no real or lasting purpose — we should not, of necessity, be persuaded, though the floor of this abbey were this evening to break up beneath our feet, and the buried

dead were to come forth to tell us that the world to come is an awful and overwhelming reality.

And next, Abraham's reply to Dives teaches us how far circumstances can be presumed to determine conduct. What a miracle is to faith, that favorable circumstances are to duty. As a miracle makes faith easy, so favorable circumstances, good examples, encouraging friends, the urgency of great opportunities, the inheritance of a noble name — these make duty easy. But duty is no more necessarily forced upon us by circumstances than faith is forced upon us by miracle.

Yet if there are hundreds who say, "I should be a sincere believer in Christianity if I could only see a person who had come from the dead," there are thousands who say, "I should be a better woman or man than I am if only I were differently circumstanced — if I were not tempted by poverty or tempted by wealth,— if I had religious and high-minded friends about me,— if I lived near a church, or knew a good clergyman,— if I had lived in other ages, the ages of faith, as they are called, when all the controversies that fill the air in modern times were quite unknown, and everybody was of one mind as to the best way of getting to heaven."

My brethren, it is not the same thing to any one of us whether we have good friends or bad — whether we have religious privileges at hand or are quite without them,— whether we can resort at will for counsel or comfort to the servants of Christ, or are debarred from doing so,— whether we are exposed to the temptations of luxury or to the temptations of want, or are blessed with that amount of competency which saves us from these temptations.

Circumstances are judgments, or they are blessings, from God; and when he surrounds us with such circumstances as

to make it easier for us to live for him and to attain the true end of our existence, we have, indeed, great reason to bless him for the blessings of this life, since, like all other good things, they come from him, the Fountain of all goodness.

But these blessings do not of themselves make a moral, religious, beneficent, Christian life necessary. They do not act upon us as the rain or the sunshine or the atmosphere act upon plants. Under favorable circumstances a plant cannot help growing. It obeys the law of its kind by an inevitable necessity. But under favorable circumstances,— nay, under the most favorable that we can possibly conceive — a human soul can refuse to grow — can remain resolutely stunted, dwarfed, misshapen — can resist triumphantly, aye, to its final ruin, all the blessed influences that might draw it upward and onward,— all that might purify, invigorate, transfigure, save it.

Felix was not compelled to be a Christian by the Apostle's burning words about righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come, though he felt their awful force. Demas was not cured of his love of this present world by the sight and friendship of Christ's aged servant Paul, now in chains at Rome, and on the eve of his martyrdom. Nay, if circumstances were ever favorable — so we may well think — to the well-being and growth of any human soul, they were the circumstances of the unhappy Judas, blessed as he was with the daily visible divine companionship of the Saviour of the world. They did not arrest the commission of two tremendous crimes,— first, that of betraying the Most Holy into the hands of his enemies, and next of rushing by his own act, impenitent, into the presence of his Judge.

Certainly let us admit that if favorable circumstances do not force holiness upon us, they may and do often protect

us against monstrous vice — against the outcome of passions and dispositions which, it may be, are still unsubdued within us, though kept more or less in check. When we read of a great crime how rarely does it occur to us to ask ourselves, with Augustine, whether, but for God's protection and grace, we too might not have been the criminal.

We read in boyhood the histories, no doubt, of the early Roman Emperors — of Caligula, of Nero, of Domitian, of Commodus; and we said to ourselves that it was wonderful that men so lost to the better instincts of our common nature should have been permitted to cumber the high places of the earth.

But should we have been better in their circumstances? With unlimited power of gratifying our own selfish instincts, and of making all others with whom we came into contact the slaves of our will,— without the fear of another world before our eyes, the fear of judgment, the fear of God,— without the light which streams — more or less of it — upon the most benighted consciences in Christendom from the radiant Figure of our Lord Jesus Christ, should we have been better than they? Should we have been capable of unselfishness, or disinterestedness, or largeness of heart, or self-discipline, in that place of dizzy, awful elevation, with all the world at our feet,— with every incentive to indulge the whims and passions of self at the cost of others? Should we have been capable of the splendid natural virtues — I will not say of Antoninus or of Marcus Aurelius, but even of Trajan — even of Hadrian?

In our Lord's day the Jews of Palestine used to compare themselves with their forefathers who had a hand in murdering the prophets. They said that had they been there they would not have killed the prophets. But he who knew what

was in man saw them through and through. He knew that they would have done just what their fathers had done before them. He looked onwards a few months into the future; he knew what was coming; he saw the Jewish mob which would arrest him in the garden; he heard the insults in the house of Caiaphas; he witnessed the long tragedy of the Way of Sorrows — the hours which he would spend on the cross of shame.

"Fill ye up, therefore, the measure of your fathers. Do not criticise men whose conduct would have been — whose temper and principles were — exactly your own."

Yes, circumstances have an immense restraining power, but they have of themselves no active power to change the heart. Dives and his brethren knew that divine code, the tenderness and mercy of which for the suffering and the poor had been so fully drawn out by the great Jewish teacher Nimonides. They were flooded with the light of God's moral law. Israel was the very home of the traditions of compassion and mercy that were to be found in the ancient world. Its higher conscience — this, as always, was on the side of the suffering and the poor.

"Be merciful after thy power. If thou hast much, give plenteously; if thou hast little, do thy diligence gladly to give of that little." "Give alms of thy goods, and never turn thy face from any poor man; and then the face of the Lord shall not be turned away from thee."

These were among its later utterances. The synagogue could name teachers famous for their tenderness, famous for their generosity and compassion; but Dives thought that these examples and motives were quite insufficient. We marvel at Dives; but, brethren, is it otherwise with ourselves? Do we not dwell on the difficulties of serving God in this as in other

matters, and forget the grace, the light, the strength, the examples, the encouragements, which he has given us in the kingdom of his Son?

What might not heathens have done with our measure of opportunity — with our measure of light? There were towns in Israel of old the streets of which were trodden by the feet of the Saviour of the world, and he pronounced with his own blessed lips their condemnation on this very ground: because pagan cities with their advantages would have been very much more responsive to his presence and his words.

"Woe unto thee Chorazin! woe unto thee Bethsaida! for if the mighty works, which were done in you, had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they would have repented long ago in sackcloth and ashes."

No, it is something else than circumstances which makes us do God's will, just as it is something else than miracle which makes us believe his word. Miracle and circumstances do their part. They assist the heart; they make the task of the will easier; they do not compel obedience. He who has made us free respects our freedom even when we use it against himself — even when we resist his own most gracious and gentle pressure and choose to disbelieve or to disobey him. If Moses and the prophets are to persuade us — if we are not to be beyond persuasion, though one rose from the dead — there must be that inward seeking, yearning after God, that wholeness of heart, that tender and affectionate disposition towards him who is the end as he is the source of our existence, of which the Bible is so full from first to last — which is the very essence of religion — which he, its object and its author, gives most assuredly to all who ask him.

My brethren, few of us, it may be, are exactly in the case of Dives. Probably at least nine tenths of those who hear

me have something to give, if they will make an effort at self-denial, in order to meet the claims of Lazarus. And to-day is a great occasion for discovering how far we are capable of persuasion by the love of God, by the chains of humanity, by the example and precepts of our divine Lord and Saviour, to say nothing of Moses and the prophets.

We have many of us, it may be, in our time, had before our minds visions of doing splendid deeds of benevolence — visions which belonged not to our actual means or circumstances, but to those of others, or to a fancy world. We have said to ourselves, "If I had the fortune of such and such a nobleman at my command, and if such and such a catastrophe were only to occur, how I should delight at laying out a hundred thousand pounds or half a million of money for the relief, the pure relief, of human suffering."

Oh, admirable aspiration! But the worst of it is that the occasion and the means of meeting it are alike hypothetical; and this purely hypothetical benevolence is like a certain sort of novel: it taxes our sympathy without resulting in any real good either to our own characters or to other people.

Do not let us wait to do what good we can till some one comes from the dead: do not let us wait till our circumstances change. Ere they change all may have ended with us, in this life of probation. "Though one rose from the dead."

A Lazarus has risen before now in history, not to persuade the selfish possessors of property to recognize their responsibilities towards human want and pain around them, but to judge. He has risen from the oppressions, from the neglect of a thousand years; he has risen, it may be, more than once in history amid scenes of blasphemy and violence and blood, but he has risen in the name of a forgotten justice to plead

the cause which has been pleaded in vain by his open sore for ages, lying as he was at the gate of Dives.

The spectre of a social revolution has been happily unknown in England — unknown for this among other reasons — that the duties of the wealthy towards the suffering classes have been — I dare not say adequately, but largely — recognized among us for a great number of years. But the immense disparities of our society — its masses, its increasing masses, of poverty — its vast accumulations of wealth — present a contrast which year by year may well cause, as it does cause, increasing anxiety; and this anxiety can only be lessened, if those to whom God has given wealth and influence lose no opportunity at their disposal of supplying the wants and bettering the position of their poorer fellow countrymen.

Here is Hospital Sunday upon us,— a great, a blessed occasion for the fruitful exercise of pure benevolence. All the common objections to charitable effort are silent here. The social and political economists do not warn us to-day that we demoralize the poor when we bring them the highest medical skill and knowledge as they lie on their bed of pain. The financiers do not suggest that our alms are spent partly or wholly on the way to the object for which we give them. And at the gates of the hospitals, those true temples of compassion, our controversies are silent. Those who know most of our Lord and Saviour — those who know less or least about him — those even who do not own the empire of his ever blessed name — agree as to the urgency of his precept and his blessing, "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy." Lazarus is close to us. Hundreds of thousands in this vast city have succeeded to his inheritance; and if we, the servants of Christ, would not be as was Dives here and hereafter, we must not wait for larger means, for more striking

occasions, for more commanding motives to self-sacrifice than we have.

We must enter now the secret chambers of our own hearts. We must listen to all that God has taught us individually of his own astonishing mercy to us in Jesus Christ — of our utter need of it. For us Christians, Christ is Lazarus to the end of time, coming to us from the dead to warn us of our duty, receiving in the persons of his poor what we give as given to himself. Surely no social catastrophe, no unforeseen providence, no palpable miracle, could restrain us more effectually than his boundless, his patient, his unmerited love — than those divine words of his which faith, it seems to me, must trace over the door of every hospital: "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me."

ROSCOE CONKLING

ROSCOE CONKLING, American republican statesman and jurist, was born at Albany, N. Y., Oct. 30, 1829, and died at New York, April 18, 1888. The son of a congressman, and minister (1852) to Mexico, he was educated at New York, and after pursuing the study of law at Utica, N. Y., was admitted to the Oneida County Bar in 1850. Here he soon became conspicuous for his abilities, and was especially noted for his successful management of criminal cases. He took an active interest in politics and was mayor of Utica in 1858. In 1859, he entered Congress as a Republican representative and after the outbreak of the Civil War stoutly upheld the Union cause. He failed of reëlection in 1862, and practiced his profession in Utica until in 1864 he was again returned to Congress. In 1867, he was elected to the United States Senate. He took a leading part in the debate on reconstruction measures, opposing the policy of President Johnson with vigor, and deplored the failure of the impeachment proceedings against him. He was a zealous supporter of the administrations of President Grant, over which he exerted considerable influence in certain directions, and in 1880 zealously championed the nomination of Grant for a third term, but was finally persuaded to acquiesce in the nomination of Garfield. Soon after Garfield's inauguration, Conkling and his colleague Platt withdrew from the Senate on account of the President's assumption of the control of official appointments in New York, which the Senate confirmed. This rebuff closed Conkling's political career and returning to New York city he spent his last years in the exercise of his profession. In 1882, he declined the offer of a seat on the Supreme Bench of the United States as associate-justice, tendered him by President Arthur, and refusing all inducements to return to public life remained unreconciled till his death. Among his noted speeches are the oration in the Senate in 1867 on the proposed impeachment of Henry Smythe, and a brief speech at the Cincinnati convention of 1880 nominating Grant for a third term in the Presidency. Conkling was a man of fine powers, but hot-headed, autocratic, and self-willed.

SUMMING-UP IN THE HADDOCK COURT-MARTIAL[1]

DELIVERED AUGUST, 1865

MAY IT PLEASE THE COURT,— Happily for the honor of the military profession, and for the fair fame of our land, prosecutions such as this have, until of late, been unknown in our history. In olden time, and

[1] Used by permission of A. R. Conkling.

in later time, a commission in the army was a certificate of character and a passport everywhere. But the Rebellion, now ended, seems to have been appointed to illustrate, in manifold ways, the shame not less than the glory of humanity. A vessel tossed and groaning in a gale, a crew heroically manful, and a myriad of sharks following the ship — such is a faithful emblem of our condition during the mighty convulsion which has just subsided.

The nation was in the last peril of existence. The continent quaked under the tramp of an uncounted host, eager, from general to private, to suffer all, and dare all, for the salvation of the government of their fathers. But with them came knaves, titled and even shoulder-strapped, a darkening cloud of vampires, gorging themselves upon the heart's blood of their country. Shoddy contractors, bounty gamblers and base adventurers found their way even into the army, in order that they might the better, under patriotic pretensions, make to themselves gain of the woes of the community.

And accordingly spectacles like this trial have come to be familiar to the public eye. Officers are put to the bar of justice for crimes deserving rank among the baser felonies. Whether such instances shall continue, depends largely upon the result of exposures of which this trial is a somewhat conspicuous one. It is the peculiar privilege of the army that its honor is confided to its own keeping solely.

Infractions of its integrity are triable before soldiers alone, and thus the officers of the army become the guardians and avengers of its purity and honor. Such a prerogative is the property of no other profession, and it imposes responsibilities in the ratio of its exclusiveness. In one sense, this trial relates to the *morale* of the army. In another and a broader sense, it relates to the universal interest of the whole public. The

war has ushered in an epoch of heroes and thieves. A carnival of venality has raged, until business connected with the government has become one grand masquerade of fraud.

Courts of every grade are kept open. The national jurisprudence, civil and military, is administered in splendid expense and with superfluous appointment. Petty offenders and common culprits are the vermin destroyed by the great machinery of justice, while right is humbled and baffled, if not abashed, in the presence of criminals too great to be punished.

A prolific cause of this is the free-masonry of profitable crime. Accusations, such as you sit to try, usually involve, as they do in this case, the impunity of many men. The prosecution must encounter, as it has done here, classes and combinations; and the result of pursuing offenders of such a grade, with the shrewdness, the money, the facilities they possess, is certain to be abortive unless special and exceptional effort is employed. Therefore, special and exceptional effort should be made. Whenever an instance occurs of guilt, traceable to one in an official station of power and sacredness, its exposure and punishment is a triumph of right, which should be emphasized by every salutary lesson which the fact can be made to enforce.

Such is, fortunately, the opinion of the government. Such is the undoubting faith of him selected to conduct this prosecution.

The arraignment of the accused proceeds upon the distinct avowal that it is not only justifiable and right, but the solemn duty of the government to ferret out those iniquities which have marred the sublimest moral spectacle of all time. The prosecution illustrates the principle that no partisanship of the criminal toward the administration, that no chagrin which

may be felt by the government at the exposure of the fact that unfit men have been selected for high places, that nothing whatever shall stand in the way of the detection and punishment of crime.

But because vigilance has been employed in uncovering fraud and wrong, the managers of the defence have seen fit to decorate me, and even the government, with their censure. A labored effort is made to confound vigilance with persecution and injustice, and the resort which has been had to the evidence of a person involved in the misconduct of the accused is made this occasion of censorious complaint. The counsel forget that this trial will stand alone among military trials in the liberties and advantages accorded to the defence. A court composed of those who could have no bias against the accused was appointed at a place selected from regard to his interest, and thronged with the creatures of his official favor; three counsel were admitted, and have been allowed to argue, to examine, and to manage with unrestrained freedom; the chief witness for the defence has been suffered, before being called himself to hear all the testimony of opposing witnesses upon the very points upon which a witness should most be tested; a copy of the record has been furnished the accused from day to day; an extraordinary number of witnesses have been asked for, and not a witness, however obvious his uselessness, has been refused; and at length, having assented to reading the record from the shorthand notes, until three weeks of extended record had accumulated, the accused was indulged in an objection, the effect of which was, after the case for the prosecution was fully disclosed, to give to the defence six weeks to prepare to meet it; and during this long interval, the accused has had the range of the country.

In all this lenity of the court the judge-advocate has fully

concurred, but he protests against the attempt now to manufacture anything from the case with which to deck, in specious disguises, the plea of "malice" and "persecution," that oldest and most threadbare resort of guilt. The true and only question is, What is established by the evidence? and to that inquiry immediate attention is invited. . . .

The case is one requiring of the prosecution the clearest and most convincing evidence. Proof should always be strong and satisfactory in the same degree in which the guilt it indicates is enormous. The accused is peculiarly entitled to the benefit of this principle of reason and of law. The crimes imputed to him are both atrocious and detestable, and a great presumption of innocence belongs to him as an officer and a man.

If guilty, his offence is nothing less than basely intriguing against the army, in the most critical period of its fate, and wielding the powers of a great official station against the life of the Republic itself. Is the accusation less heinous than this?

It is charged that when the army, thinned by battles and hardships, stood waiting for re-enforcements before closing with the enemy in the last grapple for the mastery; when exhaustion and divided sentiment in the loyal States told but too plainly that victory lost for a season would be lost forever; when a call for three hundred thousand more men had been made, and the destiny of the cause hung upon the response — that then, while standing in double trust as a soldier and as a high civil officer, the accused, for a consideration, thwarted the efforts to succor his comrades in the field, first by conniving at worthless enlistments, and second, by allowing recruits to be robbed, knowing that desertions and demoralization must follow.

But yet more sinister acts are laid at his door. It is alleged against him that he conspired to take to himself the moneys by which the army and the government subsisted, and to add exactions to taxes, making them too grievous to be borne, and this at a time when pecuniary disorders were about to solve disastrously the whole problem of the war. The range of such perfidy is bounded only by its power of mischief, and perhaps no man in the nation, save only the provost-marshal-general himself, held greater sway for good or evil in the special field of alleged malfeasance than he who presided with autocratic discretion over one third of the State of New York. . . .

This trial and its result may be looked at by those who come after us as a straw denoting currents in the decadence or the regeneration of public morals. Should it be ever so recurred to, each one who has acted his part in it decently and in order may rest assured that it will be well with him. One humble part has been, we are told, acted zealously — that part is mine. Is it true that I have been diligent in laying bare these iniquities? Give me a certificate of my zeal, that I may leave it as a legacy to my children; and bid them say of me, "He did his utmost to gibbet at the cross-roads of public justice all those who, when war had drenched the land with blood and covered it with mourning, parted the garment of their country among them, and cast lots upon the vesture of the government, even while they held positions of emolument and trust."

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SPEECH NOMINATING GRANT[1]

DELIVERED JUNE 5, 1880

IN obedience to instructions I should never dare to disregard — expressing, also, my own firm convictions — I rise to propose a nomination with which the country and the Republican party can grandly win. The election before us is to be the Austerlitz of American politics. It will decide, for many years, whether the country shall be Republican or Cossack. The supreme need of the hour is not a candidate who can carry Michigan. All Republican candidates can do that. The need is not of a candidate who is popular in the Territories, because they have no vote. The need is of a candidate who can carry doubtful States. Not the doubtful States of the north alone, but doubtful States of the South, which we have heard, if I understand it aright, ought to take little or no part here, because the South has nothing to give, but everything to receive.

No, gentlemen, the need that presses upon the conscience of this convention is of a candidate who can carry doubtful States both north and south. And believing that he, more surely than any other man, can carry New York against any opponent, and can carry not only the North, but several States of the South, New York is for Ulysses S. Grant. Never defeated in peace or in war, his name is the most illustrious borne by living man.

His services attest his greatness, and the country — nay, the world — knows them by heart. His fame was earned

[1] Used by permission of A. R. Conkling.

not alone in things written and said, but by the arduous greatness of things done. And perils and emergencies will search in vain in the future, as they have searched in vain in the past, for any other on whom the nation leans with such confidence and trust. Never having had a policy to enforce against the will of the people, he never betrayed a cause or a friend, and the people will never desert nor betray him.

Standing on the highest eminence of human distinction, modest, firm, simple, and self-poised, having filled all lands with his renown, he has seen not only the high-born and the titled, but the poor and the lowly in the uttermost ends of the earth rise and uncover before him. He has studied the needs and the defects of many systems of government, and he has returned a better American than ever, with a wealth of knowledge and experience added to the hard common sense which shone so conspicuously in all the fierce light that beat upon him during sixteen years, the most trying, the most portentous, the most perilous in the nation's history.

Vilified and reviled, ruthlessly aspersed by unnumbered presses, not in other lands but in his own, assaults upon him have seasoned and strengthened his hold on the public heart. Calumny's ammunition has all been exploded; the powder has all been burned once; its force is spent; and the name of Grant will glitter a bright and imperishable star in the diadem of the Republic when those who have tried to tarnish that name have moldered in forgotten graves, and when their memories and their epitaphs have vanished utterly.

Never elated by success, never depressed by adversity, he has ever, in peace as in war, shown the genius of common sense. The terms he prescribed for Lee's surrender foreshadowed the wisest prophecies and principles of true reconstruction. Victor in the greatest war of modern times, he

quickly signalized his aversion to war and his love of peace by an arbitration of internal disputes, which stands as the wisest, the most majestic example of its kind in the world's diplomacy. When inflation, at the height of its popularity and frenzy, had swept both Houses of Congress, it was the veto of Grant which, single and alone, overthrew expansion and cleared the way for specie resumption. To him, immeasurably more than to any other man, is due the fact that every paper dollar is at last as good as gold.

With him as our leader we shall have no defensive campaign. No! We shall have nothing to explain away. We shall have no apologies to make. The shafts and the arrows have all been aimed at him, and they lie broken and harmless at his feet.

Life, liberty and property will find a safeguard in him. When he said of the colored men in Florida, "Wherever I am, they may come also" — when he so said, he meant that, had he the power, the poor dwellers in the cabins of the South should no longer be driven in terror from the homes of their childhood and the graves of their murdered dead. When he refused to see Dennis Kearney in California, he meant that communism, lawlessness, and disorder, although it might stalk high-headed and dictate law to a whole city, would always find a foe in him. He meant that, popular or unpopular, he would hew to the line of right, let the chips fly where they may.

His integrity, his common sense, his courage, his unequalled experience, are the qualities offered to his country. The only argument, the only one that the wit of man or the stress of politics has devised is one which would dumfounder Solomon, because he thought there was nothing new under the sun. Having tried Grant twice and found him faithful,

we are told that we must not, even after an interval of years, trust him again.

My countrymen! my countrymen! what stultification does not such a fallacy involve! The American people exclude Jefferson Davis from public trust! Why? why? Because he was the arch-traitor and would-be destroyer; and now the same people are asked to ostracize Grant and not to trust him. Why? why? I repeat: because he was the arch-preserver of his country, and because, not only in war, but twice as civil magistrate, he gave his highest, noblest efforts to the republic. Is this an electioneering juggle, or is it hypocrisy's masquerade?

There is no field of human activity, responsibility, or reason in which rational beings object to an agent because he has been weighed in the balance and not found wanting. There is, I say, no department of human reason in which sane men reject an agent because he has had experience, making him exceptionally competent and fit.

From the man who shoes your horse to the lawyer who tries your cause, the officer who manages your railway or your mill, the doctor into whose hands you give your life, or the minister who seeks to save your soul, what man do you reject because by his works you have known him and found him faithful and fit? What makes the presidential office an exception to all things else in the common sense to be applied to selecting its incumbent? Who dares — who dares to put fetters on that free choice and judgment which is the birthright of the American people? Can it be said that Grant has used official power and place to perpetuate his term?

He has no place, and official power has not been used for him. Without patronage and without emissaries, without committees, without bureaus, without telegraph wires run-

ning from his house to this convention, or running from his house anywhere else, this man is the candidate whose friends have never threatened to bolt unless this convention did as they said. He is a Republican who never wavers. He and his friends stand by the creed and the candidates of the Republican party. They hold the rightful rule of the majority as the very essence of their faith, and they mean to uphold that faith against not only the common enemy, but against the charlatans, jayhawkers, tramps and guerrillas — the men who deploy between the lines, and forage now on one side and then on the other. This convention is master of a supreme opportunity. It can name the next President. It can make sure of his election. It can make sure not only of his election, but of his certain and peaceful inauguration. More than all, it can break that power which dominates and mildews the South. It can overthrow an organization whose very existence is a standing protest against progress.

The purpose of the Democratic party is spoils. Its very hope of existence is a Solid South. Its success is a menace to order and prosperity. I say this convention can overthrow that power. It can dissolve and emancipate a Solid South. It can speed the nation in a career of grandeur eclipsing all past achievements.

Gentlemen, we have only to listen above the din and look beyond the dust of an hour to behold the Republican party advancing with its ensigns resplendent with illustrious achievements, marching to certain and lasting victory with its greatest marshal at its head.

ISSUES OF THE CAMPAIGN

FROM SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE ACADEMY OF MUSIC, NEW YORK SEPTEMBER 17, 1880

WHOEVER is given greeting and audience in such a presence ought indeed to have something worthy — something fit and wise to say. Inadequate in all, save only grateful and respectful appreciation, must be my return. We are citizens of a republic. We govern ourselves. Here no pomp of eager array in chambers of royalty awaits the birth of boy or girl to wield an hereditary sceptre whenever death or revolution pours on the oil of coronation. We know no sceptre save a majority's constitutional will. To wield that sceptre in equal share is the duty and the right, nay, the birthright, of every citizen. The supreme, the final, the only peaceful arbiter here, is the ballot-box: and in that urn should be gathered and from it should be sacredly recorded the conscience, the judgment, the intelligence of all. The right of free self-government has been in all ages the bright dream of oppressed humanity — the sighed-for privilege to which thrones, dynasties, and power have so long blocked the way. France seeks it by forced marches and daring strides. Mr. Forster, secretary for Ireland, tells the peerage of England it must take heed lest it fall; and Westminster and England ring with dread echoes of applause. But in the fulness of freedom the Republic of America is alone in the earth; alone in its grandeur; alone in its blessings; alone in its promises and possibilities, and therefore alone in the devotion due from its citizens. The time has come when

law, duty, and interest require the nation to determine for at least four years its policy in many things. Two parties exist; parties should always exist in a government of majorities, and to support and strengthen the party which most nearly holds his views is among the most laudable, meritorious acts of an American citizen; and this whether he be in official or in private station. Two parties contend for the management of national affairs. The question is, Which of the two is it safer and wiser to trust? It is not a question of candidates. A candidate, if he be an honest, genuine man, will not seek and accept a party nomination to the presidency, vice-presidency, or Congress, and after he is elected become a law unto himself. The higher obligations among men are not set down in writing and signed or sealed — they reside in honor and good faith. The fidelity of a nominee belongs to this exalted class, and therefore a candidate of a party is but the exponent of a party. The object of political discussion and action is to settle principles, policies, and issues. It is a paltry incident of an election affecting fifty million people that it decides for an occasion the aspirations of individual men. The Democratic party is the Democratic candidate, and I am against the ticket and all its works.

The general issue confronting us is in itself and in its bearings sectional. I would, and you would, it were not so, but it is so. If in one portion of the country one party outnumbers the other even by overwhelming odds the fact need not be blamable, nor proof of sectional aggression. But if in any section a party gains and keeps control, not by numbers, not by honesty and law, and then, stifling free discussion and action, attempts to grasp the government of the whole country, the proceeding is sectional, guilty, and monstrous. In twelve States of the Union the approaching election is to be

no more than a farce, unless, as has sometimes happened, it be turned into a tragedy. There is to be no free debate, no equal rights, no true expression in these States; and in several States the clear majority is to have no deciding power — not even a chance in a raffle such as that in which lots were cast and the booty divided the other day between Tammany Hall and the upper-air and solar-walk reform Democracy. Senator Hampton largely promises forty thousand Democratic majority in South Carolina, where the actual majority is forty thousand the other way. In several Southern States there is a large, well-known, often-ascertained Republican majority, but all Southern States alike, without exception or doubt, are relied upon to count on the Democratic side, and to score one hundred and thirty-eight electoral votes,— lacking but forty-seven of a majority of all. The causes of such a condition, and the consequences if it succeeds, are matters which no sane, intelligent man can put out of view, and yet he who discusses them must be told in the coarse parlance of the day that he waves "the bloody shirt." It is a relief to remember that this phrase and the thing it means is no invention of our politics. It dates back to Scotland three centuries ago. After a massacre in Glenfruin not so savage as has stained our annals, two hundred and twenty widows rode on white palfreys to Sterling towers bearing each on a spear her husband's bloody shirt. The appeal waked Scotland's slumbering sword, and outlawry and the block made the name of Glenfruin terrible to victorious Clan Alpine even to the third and fourth generation. I am not going to recite horrors, nor to allude to them, nor to the chapter of cruelty they fill; nor to retry the issues of the war. My purpose is quite different. It is to show, if I can, what is actually at stake now, who and what the contending forces

are, how much the result may mean, and which way prudence and wisdom point.

You have listened to a letter from one to whom at least as much as to any other man the nation owes its preservation, prosperity, and primacy. This letter, instinct with common sense, hits the nail on the head. Its writer generally does hit nails, rebellions, and pretenders on the head. He says:—

This meeting should awaken the people to the importance of keeping control of the government in the hands of the Republican party until we can have two national parties, every member of which can cast his ballot as judgment dictates, without fear of molestation or ostracism, and have it honestly counted; parties not differing in opinion as to whether we are a nation, but as to the policy to secure the greatest good to the greatest number of its citizens. Sincerely believing that the Democratic party, as now constituted and controlled, is not a fit party to trust with the control of the general government, I believe it to the best interest of all sections, South as well as North, that the Republican party should succeed in November.

Yours very truly,
U. S. GRANT.

Lord Chesterfield said that a letter shows the man it is written to as well as the man it is written by. This letter bears Lord Chesterfield out. It is written to General Arthur, and it reveals the confidence and esteem in which the writer holds him. Informed by many years of intimate acquaintance, General Grant knew and felt as we know and feel, that he was writing not only to a friend, but to one of the most genuine, patriotic, and honorable of men.

This letter furnishes a text for many sermons. "The Democratic party as now constituted and controlled." How is it constituted, how controlled? There is a vast number of

upright, patriotic men in it,— a vast number of men who gave all and did all they should have given and done to uphold their government and their flag in the supreme and dire hour of trial. A vast number who imperilled their lives, as other Democrats laid down their lives for their country. Many Northern Democrats who cast all their weight and sympathy on the nation's side, after the war was over returned to their former party associations; many others never did so return. Were such Democrats to guide and influence a Democratic Congress and a Democratic administration, their party would not be "constituted and controlled" as it is. As the Democratic party is constituted, not the men of the North, not the men who were for the Union and the constitution, but the men of the South who were against the Union and the constitution, men whose policy and purposes are still hurtful to the country, are bound and predestined to control a Democratic administration and a Democratic Congress. In the Senate and in the House the South has an overwhelming majority of the Democratic members, and most of them are men who led in the rebellion. Every party measure in Congress is settled in party caucus by a party majority; thus the southern members hold absolute sway. In possession of the law-making power, of the purse, and of the power to confirm or reject treaties and appointments, the South is also to furnish all the votes to elect the Democratic candidates, save only the forty-seven votes which must be raffled, or certified, or produced from the northern States, particularly not excepting Oregon. Should the election be close, there is no knowing but the two Democratic Houses may find ground on which to throw out a part or all of any State's electors. With much unemployed leisure on their hands, with the danger which the electoral commission of 1877 alone overpassed, for that time, staring

the country in the face, these Democratic Houses have adopted no measure to ensure order and right in ascertaining the result of the presidential election. Should the controversy arise and the election be thrown into the House, there, the vote being taken by States, the South would cast nearly all the Democratic votes, and in the Senate the vote for vice-president would come from the same source. In every event of Democratic success the southern end of the Democratic party must be to the northern end as the locomotive is to the tender, as the horse is to the cart. This is as plain as any truth in gravitation or arithmetic. . . .

The resolution admitting Texas to the Union in 1845 provided for erecting out of Texas four additional States. The area and population are both sufficient. Such a proceeding would add eight to the number of southern senators, and add to Southern power in the electoral college. From New Mexico and other Territories, whose traditions and prejudices have descended from slaveholding influences, several new States may also be made. Schemes exist, not in embryo, but far advanced, to obtain "a slice of Mexico." Cattle stealing on the Rio Grande has been, and is, a fruitful occasion for incursions into Mexico. Special cavalry regiments of unusual size have been raised and stationed on the Texan frontier. It is an open secret that not long ago much exertion and alertness were needed to keep us out of another Mexican war. Without violating the constitution, or transcending the usages of the Republic, at least seven new States could be brought in, and in the case of some of them a very plausible case could be made. The project would become a high party measure. Its success would assure complete Democratic ascendency in the nation for a generation at least. It would put the government not merely in the hands of the Demo-

cratic party, but of the southern Democratic party. Why should not this be done? Who and what is to prevent it if the Democratic party is elected? The northern wing could never resist the southern wing in Congress were these new States brought forward for admission. The northern wing never could, never will, and never can withstand the pressure of the far stronger south wing. The past is pitiful in its warnings in this behalf. Despite pledges and northern indignation, northern Democrats in Congress united in voting down the Wilmot proviso in order to make California a slave State; united in voting for the Fugitive Slave Law; united in the mighty perfidy which overthrew the Missouri Compromise in order to fasten slavery on Kansas and other States, and united in defeating the Homestead Law — all at the behest of the southern majority. Mr. Van Buren at last, like Macbeth, would "go no further in this bloody business," and political destruction was his reward. Mr. Douglas at last made a brave stand against sectional aggression, and he was hunted to his grave. Caucus is king, and the avenging angel is hardly more inexorable in decree, or more unerring in retribution.

One of the main bulwarks of the Republic is the judiciary. The courts of justice are umpire, conservator, citadel. The Supreme Court is the final arbiter of many momentous controversies. This great tribunal is very obnoxious to Southern leaders in Congress and out. Mutterings deep and loud, breathings of dire longings to "go for" the court, have for years been gathering in volume. In the House of Representatives for two or three years this feeling has now and again found harsh voice in unseemly sinister words. Not only Kentucky, through the chairman of the judiciary committee, Mr. Knott, but Missouri, North Carolina, and other

States, assisted, I regret to say, by a representative from this city, have uttered language gross and calumnious of the court, aspersing its integrity and its decisions. "Mere drivel," "plausible sophistry," "packed, partisan, and demoralized," "packed tribunal," "decisions to be observed *pro tempore* only," "dirty work of its masters," "made a political decision to order," "fiery indignation of an inflamed people"—these are some of the buffetings to be found in the "Congressional Record," delivered sometimes from carefully written speeches, and sometimes received, the "Record" says, with "loud applause!" To what does all this pave the way? The "Congressional Record" will inform you. On the 26th of January, 1880, Mr. Manning of Mississippi — a State well known to be jealously sensitive to the pure administration of justice and the rigorous punishment of crimes, especially hideous, cowardly murder and massacre — introduced a bill to place twelve new additional judges on the Supreme Bench. What an easy, effectual, and withal plausible, disposition this would make of the court! Increased business would be such an innocent excuse — the court could sit by sevens for some purposes, and meet *in banque* for all large purposes when State sovereignty and State rights amendments to the constitution, and cotton taxes and the like are at stake. The circuit and district courts are obnoxious also. They are still more easy to deal with. . . . With courts revolutionized to conform to reactionary notions and dogmas, prejudices and interests, what may be the fate of questions affecting "commerce among the several States," revenue, bank and legal-tender currency, the taxation of government bonds, the currency in which these bonds are payable, civil rights acts, election laws, claims growing out of the war, claims for refunding the war tax on cotton, the late

amendments, and many other grave matters, no man can predict. . . .

The army, too, is envied — its "offence is rank." It has been reduced to a skeleton, and whenever a scare, a pretence, a speck of war on the Mexican border or elsewhere can be discovered, the army must be increased and filled up. Filled up by whom? That depends on the approaching election. If Garfield and Arthur are chosen, by Union men always for the Union to the core. If Hancock and English and the Democratic party get in, by men who "went with their States." Confederate soldiers would flock to the standard of military as well as of civil service reform, and flock in a fervor of magnanimity and devotion, ready to let by-gones be by-gones, and to forgive the "usurpations of Lincoln" and the "unconstitutional coercion of sovereign States." Why shouldn't they? Who would be warranted to assert that a Confederate soldier was false or immodest in professing patriotic intentions while seeking rank in the army of the Republic. No man ought to assert it, and yet all fair men would agree that, other things being equal, preferments in the army should be given to those who fought in that army, rather than to those who assailed it in the dread extremity of the nation's life.

The recent amendments to the constitution and the laws made in pursuance of them are objects of unabated Democratic wrath — a wrath going to such excess as to compel the belief that free fraud in elections is deemed the only adequate means to party success. These amendments of freedom, especially the thirteenth and fourteenth, are constantly and flagrantly defied in more than half the Democratic States, and have been for years. The laws enacted under them have been denounced in every form, and denounced as

null and void, even since the Supreme Court has solemnly decided otherwise. It was to get rid of these laws that the revolutionary plot was laid last year to stop the wheels of government, to close the courts and post-offices, and put out the beacon lights on the sea and on the lakes unless a repeal was yielded. With a thoroughbred Democratic President, whatever may happen in form to the amendments, they will become more a dead letter than a quickening spirit, and the laws made to enforce them will be swept like leaves before a gale. Should these laws be swept away, and should the spirit which assails them in the South, and which called them into being, continue to rage, mildew will follow in the wake. When Lincoln issued his proclamation of emancipation, men and women in this city were maddened by being made to believe that the slaves set free would swarm to the North, crowd out white labor, and cut down its wages. The draft riots were largely incited by this wicked, insane pretence. Throughout the North this was the appeal to the laboring-man, and many members of Congress who had supported Lincoln were defeated at the ensuing election. Vainly we pleaded for reason. We said no; men do not fly from liberty; they fly from slavery and wrong. Events have vindicated the logic of freedom. Once more I repeat the argument and the warning. The black man wants to remain by the graves of his fathers, but let persecutions go on, and the story of Pharaoh and of Egypt will be repeated. An exodus, not of a few despairing souls, but a real exodus will begin, depriving Southern fields of the hands that should and would till them, and bringing to the North and West a population not inured to Northern climes, and not adapted to usefulness and advantage here which fairly treated would come from them in the South.

The national banking system is another eyesore to the opposition. Their national conventions have denied all power of Congress to authorize banks. By votes and speeches in Congress, by declarations of conventions and leaders, by studied amendments offered to the bills, under which the national debt has been refunded, the national banking system has been struck wherever a blow could be put in. This fabric of banking is now inwrought not only with the business of the country, but with the maintenance of specie payments,— it stands a lion in the path of fiat money, inflation, and all the long train of financial heresies which possess the Democratic mind, especially in the South. In unnumbered ways, direct and indirect, this vast interest is constantly exposed to the action of Congress. The Cincinnati convention seems to have felt the need of a little caution on this point when it nominated Mr. English for Vice-President. He is president of a national bank. They nominated a Union general as a blind to the soldiers, and a bank officer as a blind to the bankers. Evidently it is thought the Northern Democratic team drives better with blinders. But even blinders do not always answer. In 1864, after solemnly asserting, just when the rebellion was gasping its last, that the war for the Union was a failure, the Democratic convention, at instigation coming then from the sheltering refuge of the Canadian shore, the same instigation which prompted a like expedient now, put up a Union general. That general did not issue order No. 40 in the midst of lawlessness and butchery, which civil authority could not arrest. No, he issued orders arresting the legislature of Maryland, a State which had not seceded, and he issued orders proclaiming martial law and suspending the habeas corpus at election time, and placed soldiers as supervisors of the polls. But

even with such a Union general the disguise was too thin. . . .

War claims upon the treasury have been and will be a subject fruitful of much agitation. I am moved to refer to it by the wholly groundless assertion in regard to it now going the rounds of party journals. The fashion of this assertion seems to have been set by Mr. Randall, the speaker of the House of Representatives. Mr. Randall is one of the ablest and most intelligent, as he is one of the most courageous men of his party, and I speak of him with much respect. In several speeches he has taken up the matter of southern claims, always to say that they are barred by the fourteenth amendment of the constitution. It puzzles me to see how so discerning a man can have fallen into such an error. The proceedings over which he presides constantly refutes the assertion. In the fourteenth amendment stand these words: "Neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void." The claims which stand in staggering totals in bills already before Congress, and in other bills said to be waiting, are not touched by this section of the constitution. For example, it is insisted that the direct tax imposed by the nation on all States in 1861 should as to the seceded States be refunded. The amount claimed is $2,492,110. Again, it is said the war tax laid on cotton should be refunded. The argument is that cotton, like wheat and corn, is a product of the earth, and that wheat and corn were not taxed, and, therefore, cotton should not have been taxed. There is plausibility in this; but petroleum is a product of the earth also, and that was heavily

taxed, not only during the war, but afterward, and yet Pennsylvania has never claimed that the money should be refunded. The amount of cotton tax claimed is $170,180,220. Again, buildings were occupied, crops were trampled, fences and woods were burned, provisions were consumed, edifices were demolished, and regions were laid waste by the armies of the Union. The total of such claims dizzies arithmetic. These are not "debt or obligations incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion," — decidedly not in aid of rebellion. They are claims because of the acts done to crush rebellion. The constitutional amendment does not come within gunshot of them. The error of the distinguished speaker is the more puzzling because, as reported, he said in another part of his address recently that the Republican majority in Congress had paid $100,000,000 of such claims. This I presume is true if he means that Republicans have voted to pay Union men whose property was taken for public use the value of the property so taken. But, whether correct in the amount or not, he is certainly correct in saying that a vast sum has been so paid. Does not this fact clearly show that such claims are not extinguished by the constitution? If they were so extinguished, surely the law-making power would not have been so stupid or wicked as to pay them year after year, and this without any member of either House ever suggesting that the constitution stood in the way. These appropriations for southern claims also throw light on the question whether Republican action in Congress has been hostile and cruel to the South. The statutes on the subject enacted by Republicans have made the loyalty of the claimant a *sine qua non*, and the Democrats have repeatedly voted to repeal the loyalty test, and bills for this purpose are now pending. There can be no doubt that the way is wide open to all the southern

claims which a majority can be found to vote for and a President to sign. . . .

In the face of the facts, bald and arrant as the claim is, the country is gravely told of wondrous Democratic economies, and it now begins to be stated that the resumption of specie payments was really brought about by the frugality of a Democratic Congress. If a race was to be sailed on the sea of fiction, the inventor of this statement would surely take the cup. The resumption of specie payments was a transcendent achievement. The credit of it belongs to some party, and to that party future generations will look back with grateful admiration. Whoever would know the truth about it can easily do so. After the war we had afloat well toward a thousand millions of paper currency. It fluctuated in value from thirty-eight to seventy cents in the dollar. The public debt was more than twenty-eight hundred millions, and more than twenty-three hundred millions of it bore interest. The annual interest charge was a hundred and fifty millions. The first presidential election afterward was in 1868. The two parties, of course, arrayed themselves on the greatest financial issue which has ever arisen in this country, or perhaps in any country. The question was, what should be done with the colossal debt inflicted by the rebellion, and with the sea of paper promises we had been compelled to put out. The Democratic party pronounced for repudiation. The declaration was covert and indirect, but it meant repudiation. They resolved that all debts should be paid in paper promises unless the obligation expressly on its face said otherwise, or unless the law mentioned that coin should be paid. They resolved that "government bonds and all other securities" should all be taxed. They resolved that "every species of property" should be taxed, and taxed at

its "real value." They resolved that there should be but one currency for the government and the "bondholder." Taken together, these declarations were plain repudiation.

The Republicans in their national convention declared two things: First, that repudiation is a national crime; and that every debt must be paid to the uttermost, not according to the letter but the spirit of the law. Second, that the wise course was to improve our credit so as to refund our bonded debt at lower interest, and that this could not be done if repudiation, open or covert, partial or total, was threatened or suspected. On this platform General Grant was elected. His first presidential syllable was spoken on the portico of the Capitol to assembled thousands, and spoken with lips which only an instant before had touched the Bible to solemnize an oath of faithfulness in office. In his inaugural address, then delivered, stand these words: —

"A great debt has been contracted in securing to us and our posterity the Union; the payment of this debt, principal and interest, as well as the return to a specie basis as soon as it can be accomplished without material detriment to the debtor class or to the country at large, must be provided for. To protect the national honor, every dollar of government indebtedness should be paid in gold, unless otherwise expressly stipulated in the contract. Let it be understood that no repudiator of one farthing of our public debt will be trusted in public place, and it will go far toward strengthening a credit which ought to be the best in the world, and will ultimately enable us to replace the debt with bonds bearing less interest than we now pay."

This significant declaration produced a deep sensation. Both Houses of Congress were Republican. Immediately a bill was introduced in each House "to strengthen the public credit." In less than a fortnight it had passed both Houses and was approved by President Grant March 18, 1869. It

was the first act he ever signed. It declared that "the faith of the United States is solemnly pledged to the payment in coin or its equivalent of all the obligations of the United States not bearing interest, known as United States notes, and of all the interest-bearing obligations of the United States, except in cases where the law authorizing the issue of any such obligations had expressly provided that the same may be paid in lawful money, or other currency than gold and silver. . . . And the United States also solemnly pledges its faith to make provision at the earliest practicable period for the redemption of the United States notes in coin."

This bill was resisted by the solid Democracy in both Houses. They voted against it, they voted against considering it, they voted for amendments to pervert and reverse its meaning. Senator Thurman of Ohio moved to add to it: "Provided that nothing herein contained shall apply to obligations called 5-20 bonds." Every Democratic senator present voted for this, every Republican voted against it. The 5-20 bonds then constituted the great bulk of the public debt, and this proviso would have frustrated and vitiated the whole act. Senator Davis of Kentucky moved to amend so as to scale down the bonds to the coin value at the time of the currency received for them. This was supported by the Democrats, Senator Bayard of Delaware among others speaking in its favor. Senator Vickers of Maryland moved to amend so as to prevent coin ever being purchased to be used to pay bonds. Senator Bayard denounced the bill as wrong, unwise, and as a "stock-jobbing operation." After all this the bill passed, and not one Democrat voted for it in either House. The next step in this progress was the funding act of July, 1870,— the act authorizing the redemption of the 5-20 or 6 per cent. bonds by negotiating bonds bearing lower

interest. All the Democrats resisted this bill also, and voted against it. Exempting the new bonds from taxation was opposed. In the Senate, Mr. Bayard moved to strike out the provision and to subject the bonds to taxation; all the Democrats voted for it. Again, Mr. Bayard moved an amendment to bring back the State banking system, and all the Democrats voted for that also. The bill was at length carried by Republican votes. By this time our currency had much appreciated, and funding at lower interest began.

In 1874, by a vote not Democratic alone, an inflation bill made its way through both Houses. The pressure upon President Grant to induce him to sign it exceeded anything of the kind I have ever witnessed. Men who should have upheld his hands not only threw their weight upon him, but industriously criticised and even ridiculed his venturing to set up his opinion against a majority in such a crisis. He vetoed the bill, however. In his message, returning it unsigned, he referred to the declaration of the Republican party, to his inaugural, to the act of 1869 already cited, and he said the proposed act would violate faith, and he was against it. This happened on the 22d of April, 1874. About a month later a conversation occurred one evening between the President and his chief adviser, Secretary Fish, and others about the wise course out of the increased difficulties which had come from the disasters of the year before. One of those present at this conversation was Senator Jones of Nevada. So struck was he with the views expressed by President Grant, that the next day (June 4, 1874) he by letter requested that the substance of them should be put in writing and a copy sent him. This was done, and the memorandum made by the President was handed about among members of the two Houses and afterward found its way into print.

Here it is. It is the foreshadow of the Resumption Act, to which the veto had paved the way. I read two passages:

"I believe it a high and plain duty to return to a specie basis at the earliest practical day, not only in compliance with legislative and party pledges, but as a step indispensable to lasting national prosperity. I believe further that the time has come when this can be done, or at least begun with less embarrassment to every branch of industry than at any future time after resort has been had to unstable and temporary expedients to stimulate unreal prosperity and speculation on a basis other than coin, the recognized medium of exchange throughout the commercial world. The particular mode selected to bring about a restoration of the specie standard is not of so much consequence as that some plan be devised, the time fixed when currency shall be exchangeable for coin at par, and the plan adopted rigidly adhered to. . . . I would like to see a provision that at a fixed day, say July 1, 1876, the currency issued by the United States should be redeemed in coin on presentation to any assistant treasurer, and that all the currency so redeemed should be cancelled and never reissued. To effect this, it would be necessary to authorize the issue of bonds payable in gold, bearing such interest as would command par in gold, to be put out by the treasury only in such sums as should from time to time be needed for the purpose of redemption."

It was not long before this advice found the form of law. A committee composed wholly of Republican senators, of whom I was myself one, prepared the bill now known as the resumption act. It was not the work of any one senator, nor did it express literally and in full, perhaps, the views of any single member of the committee. It was a compromise of somewhat conflicting opinions. It was submitted to every Republican member of the Senate, and every one, after consideration, determined to vote for it. It was brought forward in the Senate, and every Republican senator did vote for it. Every Democratic senator present voted against it. It went

to the House, and there encountered a solid Democratic opposition, but it was carried by Republican votes. President Grant promptly signed it. It fixed the 1st of January, 1879, for the resumption of specie payments, and when the day came, as noiselessly and naturally as night melts into day, specie payments were resumed.

A triumphant nationality — a regenerated constitution — a free Republic — an unbroken country — untarnished credit — solvent finances — unparalleled prosperity — all these are ours despite the policy and the efforts of the Democratic party. Along with the amazing improvement in national finances, we have amazing individual thrift on every side. In every walk of life new activity is felt. Labor, agriculture, manufactures, commerce, enterprises, and investments, all are flourishing, content and hopeful. But in the midst of this harmony and encouragement comes a harsh discord crying, "Give us a change — anything for a change." This is not a bearing year for "a change." Every other crop is good, but not the crop of "change"— that crop is good only when the rest are bad. The country does not need or wish the change proposed, and the pressing invitation of our Democratic friends is much like "Will you walk into my parlor, said the spider to the fly." A good-natured but firm "No, I thank you," will be the response at the polls. . . .

Upon its record and its candidates the Republican party asks the country's approval, and stands ready to avow its purposes for the future. It proposes to rebuild our commercial marine, driven from the sea by Confederate cruisers, aided and abetted by foreign hostility. It proposes to foster labor, industry, and enterprise. It proposes to stand for education, humanity, and progress. It proposes to administer the government honestly, to preserve amity with all the world,

observing our own obligations with others and seeing that others observe theirs with us, to protect every citizen of whatever birth or color in his rights and equality before the law, including his right to vote and to be counted, to uphold the public credit and the sanctity of engagements; and by doing these things the Republican party proposes to assure to industry, humanity, and civilization in America the amplest welcome and the safest home.

JAMES G. BLAINE

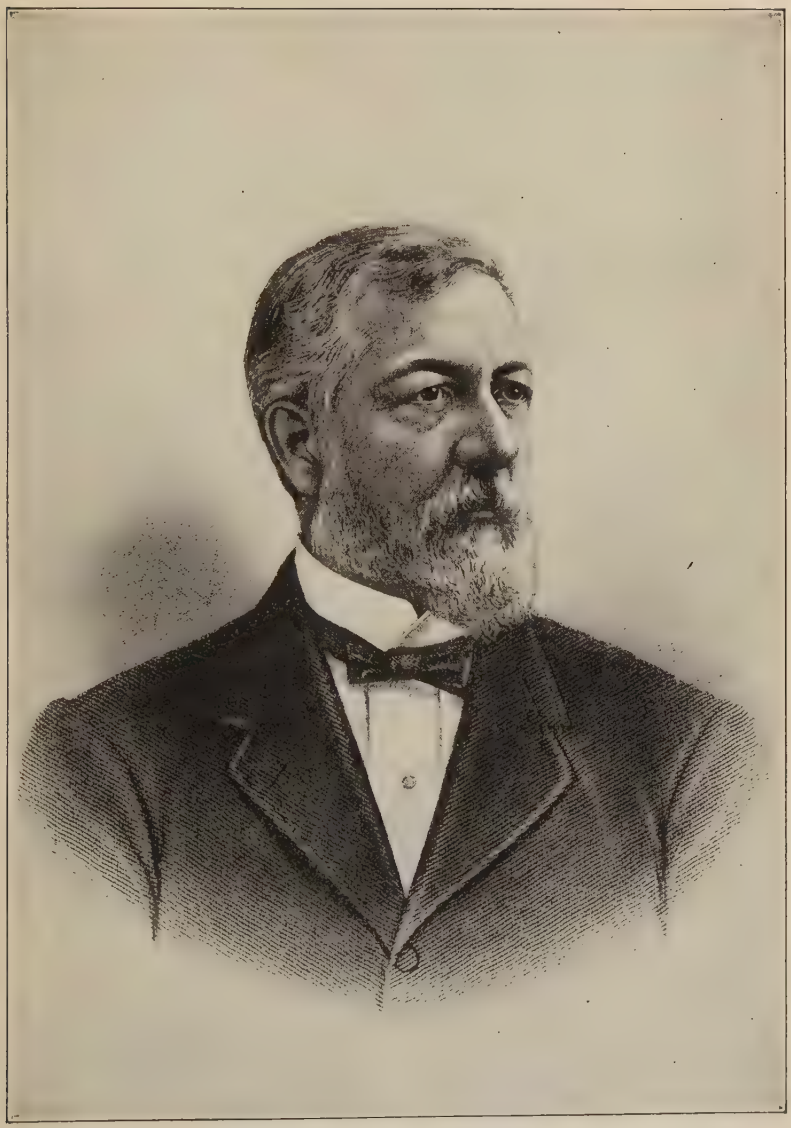
JAMES GILLESPIE BLAINE, LL. D., eminent American statesman, was born at West Brownsville, Pa., Jan. 31, 1830, and died at Washington, D. C., Jan. 27, 1893. Graduating at Washington College in 1847, he early in life removed to Maine, where he became editor of the Portland "Advertiser" and the Kennebec "Journal." He was a member of the popular branch of the Maine legislature from 1859 to 1862, and in the last-named year was chosen Speaker of that body. He was sent to Congress in 1862, and served continuously in the House of Representatives until 1876, when he was appointed United States Senator from Maine. For three successive terms, viz., from 1869 to 1875 inclusive, he was chosen Speaker of the House of Representatives. As a Congressman he was regarded as the Republican leader in the House after the death of Thaddeus Stevens. He was a conspicuous candidate for the Republican nomination for the Presidency in 1876; in 1880 he was Secretary of State under President Garfield, and was in 1884 nominated for the Presidency. In 1888, he declined renomination for that office, and had many supporters in the Republican Convention in 1892. Mr. Blaine was an influential member of Congress, and in 1884–86 published a brilliant history of his political career, entitled "Twenty Years of Congress."

ORATION ON GARFIELD

IN THE HALL OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, FEBRUARY 27, 1882

Mr. President:

FOR the second time in this generation the great departments of the government of the United States are assembled in the Hall of Representatives, to do honor to the memory of a murdered President. Lincoln fell at the close of a mighty struggle, in which the passions of men had been deeply stirred. The tragical termination of his great life added but another to the lengthened succession of horrors which had marked so many lintels



JAMES G. BLAINE

with the blood of the firstborn. Garfield was slain in a day of peace, when brother had been reconciled to brother, and when anger and hate had been banished from the land.

"Whoever shall hereafter draw a portrait of murder, if he will show it as it has been exhibited where such example was last to have been looked for, let him not give it the grim visage of Moloch, the brow knitted by revenge, the face black with settled hate. Let him draw, rather, a decorous, smooth-faced, bloodless demon; not so much an example of human nature in its depravity and in its paroxysms of crime, as an infernal being, a fiend in the ordinary display and development of his character."

From the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth till the uprising against Charles I., about twenty thousand emigrants came from old England to New England. As they came in pursuit of intellectual freedom and ecclesiastical independence, rather than from worldly honor and profit, the emigration naturally ceased when the contest for religious liberty began in earnest at home. The man who struck his most effective blow for freedom of conscience, by sailing for the Colonies in 1620, would have been accounted a deserter to leave after 1640. The opportunity had then come on the soil of England for that great contest which established the authority of Parliament, gave religious freedom to the people, sent Charles to the block, and committed to the hands of Oliver Cromwell the supreme executive authority of England. The English emigration was never renewed, and from these twenty thousand men, with a small emigration from Scotland and from France, are descended the vast numbers who have New England blood in their veins.

In 1685 the revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV., scattered to other countries four hundred thousand

Protestants, who were among the most intelligent and enterprising of French subjects—merchants of capital, skilled manufacturers, and handicraftsmen superior at the time to all others in Europe. A considerable number of these Huguenot French came to America; a few landed in New England and became honorably prominent in its history. Their names have in large part become Anglicized, or have disappeared, but their blood is traceable in many of the most reputable families and their fame is perpetuated in honorable memorials and useful institutions.

From these two sources, the English-Puritan and the French-Huguenot, came the late President—his father, Abram Garfield, descended from the one, and his mother, Eliza Ballou, from the other.

It was good stock on both sides—none better, none braver, none truer. There was in it an inheritance of courage, of manliness, of imperishable love of liberty, of undying adherence to principle. Garfield was proud of his blood; and, with as much satisfaction as if he were a British nobleman reading his stately ancestral record in Burke's "Peerage," he spoke of himself as ninth in descent from those who would not endure the oppression of the Stuarts, and seventh in descent from the brave French Protestants who refused to submit to tyranny even from the Grand Monarque.

General Garfield delighted to dwell on these traits, and during his only visit to England he busied himself in discovering every trace of his forefathers in parish registers and on ancient army rolls. Sitting with a friend in the gallery of the House of Commons one night after a long day's labor in this field of research, he said with evident elation that in every war in which for three centuries pa-

triots of English blood had struck sturdy blows for constitutional government and human liberty, his family had been represented. They were at Marston Moor, at Naseby, and at Preston; they were at Bunker Hill, at Saratoga, and at Monmouth, and in his own person had battled for the same great cause in the war which preserved the Union of the States.

Losing his father before he was two years old, the early life of Garfield was one of privation, but its poverty has been made indelicately and unjustly prominent. Thousands of readers have imagined him as the ragged, starving child, whose reality too often greets the eye in the squalid sections of our large cities. General Garfield's infancy and youth had none of their destitution, none of their pitiful features appealing to the tender heart and to the open hand of charity. He was a poor boy in the same sense in which Henry Clay was a poor boy; in which Andrew Jackson was a poor boy; in which Daniel Webster was a poor boy; in the sense in which the large majority of the eminent men of America in all generations have been poor boys. Before a great multitude of men, in a public speech, Mr. Webster bore this testimony:

"It did not happen to me to be born in a log-cabin, but my elder brothers and sisters were born in a log-cabin raised amid the snowdrifts of New Hampshire, at a period so early that when the smoke rose first from its rude chimney and curled over the frozen hills, there was no similar evidence of a white man's habitation between it and the settlements on the rivers of Canada. Its remains still exist. I make to it an annual visit. I carry my children to it to teach them the hardships endured by the generations which have gone before them. I love to dwell on the tender recollections, the kindred ties, the early affections, and the touch-

ing narratives and incidents which mingle with all I know of this primitive family abode."

With the requisite change of scene the same words would aptly portray the early days of Garfield. The poverty of the frontier, where all are engaged in a common struggle, and where a common sympathy and hearty cooperation lighten the burdens of each, is a very different poverty—different in kind, different in influence and effect—from that conscious and humiliating indigence which is every day forced to contrast itself with neighboring wealth on which it feels a sense of grinding dependence. The poverty of the frontier is, indeed, no poverty. It is but the beginning of wealth, and has the boundless possibilities of the future always opening before it. No man ever grew up in the agricultural regions of the West, where a house-raising, or even a corn-husking is a matter of common interest and helpfulness, with any other feeling than that of broad-minded, generous independence. This honorable independence marked the youth of Garfield as it marks the youth of millions of the best blood and brain now training for the future citizenship and future government of the Republic. Garfield was born heir to land, to the title of freeholder which has been the patent and passport of self-respect with the Anglo-Saxon race ever since Hengist and Horsa landed on the shores of England. His adventure on the canal—an alternative between that and the deck of a Lake Erie schooner—was a farmer boy's device for earning money, just as the New England lad begins a possibly great career by sailing before the mast on a coasting vessel or on a merchantman bound to the Farther India or to the China Seas.

No manly man feels anything of shame in looking back to early struggles with adverse circumstances, and no man

feels a worthier pride than when he has conquered the obstacles to his progress. But no one of noble mold desires to be looked upon as having occupied a menial position, as having been repressed by a feeling of inferiority, or as having suffered the evils of poverty until relief was found at the hand of charity. General Garfield's youth presented no hardships which family love and family energy did not overcome, subjected him to no privations which he did not cheerfully accept, and left no memories save those which were recalled with delight, and transmitted with profit and with pride.

Garfield's early opportunities for securing an education were extremely limited, and yet were sufficient to develop in him an intense desire to learn. He could read at three years of age, and each winter he had the advantage of the district school. He read all the books to be found within the circle of his acquaintance; some of them he got by heart. While yet in childhood he was a constant student of the Bible, and became familiar with its literature. The dignity and earnestness of his speech in his maturer life gave evidence of this early training. At eighteen years of age he was able to teach school, and thenceforward his ambition was to obtain a college education. To this end he bent all his efforts, working in the harvest field, at the carpenter's bench, and in the winter season teaching the common schools of the neighborhood. While thus laboriously occupied he found time to prosecute his studies, and was so successful that at twenty-two years of age he was able to enter the junior class at Williams College, then under the presidency of the venerable and honored Mark Hopkins, who, in the fulness of his powers, survives the eminent pupil to whom he was of inestimable service.

The history of Garfield's life to this period presents no novel features. He had undoubtedly shown perseverance, self-reliance, self-sacrifice, and ambition—qualities which, be it said for the honor of our country, are everywhere to be found among the young men of America. But from his graduation at Williams onward, to the hour of tragical death, Garfield's career was eminent and exceptional. Slowly working through his educational period, receiving his diploma when twenty-four years of age, he seemed at one bound to spring into conspicuousness and brilliant success. Within six years he was successively president of a college, State Senator of Ohio, Major-General of the Army of the United States, and Representative-Elect to the national Congress. A combination of honors so varied, so elevated, within a period so brief and to a man so young, is without precedent or parallel in the history of the country.

Garfield's army life was begun with no other military knowledge than such as he had hastily gained from books in the few months preceding his march to the field. Stepping from civil life to the head of a regiment, the first order he received when ready to cross the Ohio was to assume command of a brigade, and to operate as an independent force in Eastern Kentucky. His immediate duty was to check the advance of Humphrey Marshall, who was marching down the Big Sandy with the intention of occupying, in connection with other Confederate forces, the entire territory of Kentucky, and of precipitating the State into secession. This was at the close of the year 1861. Seldom, if ever, has a young college professor been thrown into a more embarrassing and discouraging position. He knew just enough of military science, as he expressed it himself, to measure the extent of his ignorance, and with a handful of men he

was marching, in rough winter weather, into a strange country, among a hostile population, to confront a largely superior force under the command of a distinguished graduate of West Point, who had seen active and important service in two preceding wars.

The result of the campaign is matter of history. The skill, the endurance, the extraordinary energy shown by Garfield, the courage imparted to his men, raw and untried as himself, the measures he adopted to increase his force and to create in the enemy's mind exaggerated estimate of his numbers, bore perfect fruit in the routing of Marshall, the capture of his camp, the dispersion of his force, and the emancipation of an important territory from the control of the rebellion. Coming at the close of a long series of disasters to the Union arms, Garfield's victory had an unusual and an extraneous importance, and in the popular judgment elevated the young commander to the rank of a military hero. With less than two thousand men in his entire command, with a mobilized force of only eleven hundred, without cannon, he had met an army of five thousand and defeated them, driving Marshall's forces successively from two strongholds of their own selection, fortified with abundant artillery. Major-General Buell, commanding the Department of the Ohio, an experienced and able soldier of the regular army, published an order of thanks and congratulation on the brilliant result of the Big Sandy campaign which would have turned the head of a less cool and sensible man than Garfield. Buell declared that his services had called into action the highest qualities of a soldier, and President Lincoln supplemented these words of praise by the more substantial reward of a brigadier-general's commission, to bear date from the day of his decisive victory over Marshall.

The subsequent military career of Garfield fully sustained its brilliant beginning. With his new commission he was assigned to the command of a brigade in the Army of the Ohio, and took part in the second decisive day's fight in the great battle of Shiloh. The remainder of the year 1862 was not especially eventful to Garfield, as it was not to the armies with which he was serving. His practical sense was called into exercise in completing the task assigned him by General Buell, of reconstructing bridges and re-establishing lines of railway communication for the army. His occupation in this useful but not brilliant field was varied by service on courts-martial of importance, in which department of duty he won a valuable reputation, attracting the notice and securing the approval of the able and eminent judge-advocate-general of the army. That of itself was a warrant to honorable fame; for among the great men who in those trying days gave themselves, with entire devotion, to the service of their country, one who brought to that service the ripest learning, the most fervid eloquence, the most varied attainments, who labored with modesty and shunned applause, who in the day of triumph sat reserved and silent and grateful—as Francis Deak in the hour of Hungary's deliverance—was Joseph Holt, of Kentucky, who in his honorable retirement enjoys the respect and veneration of all who love the Union of the States.

Early in 1863 Garfield was assigned to the highly important and responsible post of chief of staff to General Rosecrans, then at the head of the Army of the Cumberland. Perhaps in a great military campaign no subordinate officer requires sounder judgment and quicker knowledge of men than the chief of staff to the commanding general. An indiscreet man in such a position can sow more discord, breed

more jealousy, and disseminate more strife than any other officer in the entire organization. When General Garfield assumed his new duties he found various troubles already well developed and seriously affecting the value and efficiency of the Army of the Cumberland. The energy, the impartiality, and the tact with which he sought to allay these dissensions, and to discharge the duties of his new and trying position, will always remain one of the most striking proofs of his great versatility. His military duties closed on the memorable field of Chickamauga, a field which, however disastrous to the Union arms, gave to him the occasion of winning imperishable laurels. The very rare distinction was accorded him of great promotion for his bravery on a field that was lost. President Lincoln appointed him a major-general in the army of the United States for gallant and meritorious conduct in the battle of Chickamauga.

The Army of the Cumberland was reorganized under the command of General Thomas, who promptly offered Garfield one of its divisions. He was extremely desirous to accept the position, but was embarrassed by the fact that he had, a year before, been elected to Congress, and the time when he must take his seat was drawing near. He preferred to remain in the military service, and had within his own breast the largest confidence of success in the wider field which his new rank opened to him. Balancing the arguments on the one side and the other, anxious to determine what was for the best, desirous, above all things, to do his patriotic duty, he was decisively influenced by the advice of President Lincoln and Secretary Stanton, both of whom assured him that he could, at that time, be of especial value in the House of Representatives. He resigned his commission of major-general on the fifth day of December, 1863,

and took his seat in the House of Representatives on the seventh. He had served two years and four months in the army, and had just completed his thirty-second year.

The Thirty-eighth Congress is pre-eminently entitled in history to the designation of the War Congress. It was elected while the war was flagrant, and every member was chosen upon the issues involved in the continuance of the struggle. The Thirty-seventh Congress had, indeed, legislated to a large extent on war measures, but it was chosen before any one believed that secession of the States would be actually attempted. The magnitude of the work which fell upon its successor was unprecedented, both in respect to the vast sums of money raised for the support of the army and navy, and of the new and extraordinary powers of legislation which it was forced to exercise. Only twenty-four States were represented, and one hundred and eighty-two members were upon its roll. Among these were many distinguished party leaders on both sides, veterans in the public service with established reputations for ability and with that skill which comes only from parliamentary experience. Into this assemblage of men Garfield entered without special preparation, and it might almost be said unexpectedly. The question of taking command of a division of troops under General Thomas, or taking his seat in Congress, was kept open till the last moment; so late, indeed, that the resignation of his military commission and his appearance in the House were almost contemporaneous. He wore the uniform of a major-general of the United States army on Saturday, and on Monday, in civilian's dress, he answered to the roll call as a Representative in Congress from the State of Ohio.

He was especially fortunate in the constituency which

elected him. Descended almost entirely from New England stock, the men of the Ashtabula district were intensely radical on all questions relating to human rights. Well educated, thrifty, thoroughly intelligent in affairs, acutely discerning of character, not quick to bestow confidence, and slow to withdraw it, they were at once the most helpful and most exacting of supporters. Their tenacious trust in men in whom they have once confided is illustrated by the unparalleled fact that Elisha Whittlesey, Joshua R. Giddings, and James A. Garfield represented the district for fifty-four years.

There is no test of man's ability in any department of public life more severe than service in the House of Representatives; there is no place where so little deference is paid to reputation previously acquired or to eminence won outside; no place where so little consideration is shown for the feelings or failures of beginners. What a man gains in the House he gains by sheer force of his own character, and if he loses and falls back he must expect no mercy and will receive no sympathy. It is a field in which the survival of the strongest is the recognized rule and where no pretence can deceive and no glamour can mislead. The real man is discovered, his worth is impartially weighed, his rank is irreversibly decreed.

With possibly a single exception, Garfield was the youngest member in the House when he entered, and was but seven years from his college graduation. But he had not been in his seat sixty days before his ability was recognized and his place conceded. He stepped to the front with the confidence of one who belonged there. The House was crowded with strong men of both parties; nineteen of them have since been transferred to the Senate, and many of

them have served with distinction in the gubernatorial chairs of their respective States and on foreign missions of great consequence; but among them all none grew so rapidly, none so firmly, as Garfield. As is said by Trevelyan of his parliamentary hero, Garfield succeeded "because all the world in concert could not have kept him in the background, and because when once in the front he played his part with a prompt intrepidity and a commanding ease that were but the outward symptoms of the immense reserves of energy on which it was in his power to draw." Indeed, the apparently reserved force which Garfield possessed was one of his great characteristics. He never did so well but that it seemed he could easily have done better. He never expended so much strength but that he seemed to be holding additional power to call. This is one of the happiest and rarest distinctions of an effective debater, and often counts for as much in persuading an assembly as the eloquent and elaborate argument.

The great measure of Garfield's fame was filled by his service in the House of Representatives. His military life, illustrated by honorable performance, and rich in promise, was, as he himself felt, prematurely terminated and necessarily incomplete. Speculation as to what he might have done in the field, where the great prizes are so few, cannot be profitable. It is sufficient to say that as a soldier he did his duty bravely; he did it intelligently; he won an enviable fame, and he retired from the service without blot or breath against him. As a lawyer, though admirably equipped for the profession, he can scarcely be said to have entered on its practice. The few efforts that he made at the bar were distinguished by the same high order of talent which he exhibited on every field where he was put

to test, and if a man may be accepted as a competent judge of his own capacities and adaptation, the law was the profession to which Garfield should have devoted himself. But fate ordained it otherwise, and his reputation in history will rest largely upon his services in the House of Representatives. That service was exceptionally long. He was nine times consecutively chosen to the House, an honor enjoyed by not more than six other Representatives of the more than five thousand who have been elected from the organization of the government to this hour.

As a parliamentary orator, as a debater on an issue squarely joined, where the position had been chosen and the ground laid out, Garfield must be assigned a very high rank. More, perhaps, than any man with whom he was associated in public life he gave careful and systematic study to public questions, and he came to every discussion in which he took part with elaborate and complete preparation. He was a steady and indefatigable worker. Those who imagine that talent or genius can supply the place or achieve the results of labor will find no encouragement in Garfield's life. In preliminary work he was apt, rapid, and skilful. He possessed in a high degree the power of readily absorbing ideas and facts, and, like Dr. Johnson, had the art of getting from a book all that was of value in it by a reading apparently so quick and cursory that it seemed like a mere glance at the table of contents. He was a pre-eminently fair and candid man in debate, took no petty advantage, stooped to no unworthy methods, avoided personal allusions, rarely appealed to prejudice, did not seek to inflame passion. He had a quicker eye for the strong point of his adversary than for his weak point, and on his own side he so marshalled his weighty arguments as to make

his hearers forget any possible lack in the complete strength of his position. He had a habit of stating his opponent's side with such amplitude of fairness and such liberality of concession that his followers often complained that he was giving his case away. But never in his prolonged participation in the proceedings of the House did he give his case away, or fail in the judgment of competent and impartial listeners to gain the mastery.

These characteristics, which marked Garfield as a great debater, did not, however, make him a great parliamentary leader. A parliamentary leader, as that term is understood wherever free representative government exists, is necessarily and very strictly the organ of his party. An ardent American defined the instinctive warmth of patriotism when he offered the toast, "Our country always right; but, right or wrong, our country." The parliamentary leader who has a body of followers that will do and dare and die for the cause is one who believes his party always right, but, right or wrong, is for his party. No more important or exacting duty devolves upon him than the selection of the field and the time of the contest. He must know not merely how to strike, but where to strike and when to strike. He often skilfully avoids the strength of his opponent's position and scatters confusion in his ranks by attacking an exposed point, when really the righteousness of the cause and the strength of logical intrenchment are against him. He conquers often both against the right and the heavy battalions; as when young Charles Fox, in the days of his Toryism, carried the House of Commons against justice, against immemorial rights, against his own convictions—if, indeed, at that period Fox had convictions—and in the interest of a corrupt administration, in obedience to

a tyrannical sovereign, drove Wilkes from the seat to which the electors of Middlesex had chosen him and installed Luttrell, in defiance, not merely of law, but of public decency. For an achievement of that kind Garfield was disqualified —disqualified by the texture of his mind, by the honesty of his heart, by his conscience, and by every instinct and aspiration of his nature.

The three most distinguished parliamentary leaders hitherto developed in this country are Mr. Clay, Mr. Douglas, and Mr. Thaddeus Stevens. Each was a man of consummate ability, of great earnestness, of intense personality, differing widely each from the others, and yet with a signal trait in common—the power to command. In the "give and take" of daily discussion; in the art of controlling and consolidating reluctant and refractory followers; in the skill to overcome all forms of opposition, and to meet with competency and courage the varying phases of unlooked-for assault or unsuspected defection, it would be difficult to rank with these a fourth name in all our Congressional history. But of these Mr. Clay was the greatest. It would, perhaps, be impossible to find in the parliamentary annals of the world a parallel to Mr. Clay, in 1841, when at sixty-four years of age he took the control of the Whig party from the President who had received their suffrages, against the power of Webster in the Cabinet, against the eloquence of Choate in the Senate, against the herculean efforts of Caleb Cushing and Henry A. Wise in the House. In unshared leadership, in the pride and plenitude of power he hurled against John Tyler with deepest scorn the mass of that conquering column which had swept over the land in 1840, and drove his administration to seek shelter behind the lines of his political foes. Mr. Douglas

achieved a victory scarcely less wonderful when, in 1854, against the secret desires of a strong administration, against the wise counsel of the older chiefs, against the conservative instincts and even the moral sense of the country, he forced a reluctant Congress into a repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, in his contests from 1865 to 1868, actually advanced his parliamentary leadership until Congress tied the hands of the President and governed the country by its own will, leaving only perfunctory duties to be discharged by the Executive. With two hundred millions of patronage in his hands at the opening of the contest, aided by the active force of Seward in the Cabinet, and the moral power of Chase on the Bench, Andrew Johnson could not command the support of one-third in either House against the parliamentary uprising of which Thaddeus Stevens was the animating spirit and the unquestioned leader.

From these three great men Garfield differed radically; differed in the quality of his mind, in temperament, in the form and phase of ambition. He could not do what they did, but he could do what they could not, and in the breadth of his Congressional work he left that which will longer exert a potential influence among men, and which, measured by the severe test of posthumous criticism, will secure a more enduring and more enviable fame.

Those unfamiliar with Garfield's industry, and ignorant of the details of his work, may in some degree measure them by the annals of Congress. No one of the generation of public men to which he belonged has contributed so much that will be valuable for future reference. His speeches are numerous, many of them brilliant, all of them well studied, carefully phrased, and exhaustive of the

subject under consideration. Collected from the scattered pages of ninety royal octavo volumes of the Congressional Record, they would present an invaluable compendium of the political history of the most important era through which the national government has ever passed. When the history of this period shall be impartially written, when war legislation, measures of reconstruction, protection of human rights, amendments to the Constitution, maintenance of public credit, steps toward specie resumption, true theories of revenue may be reviewed, unsurrounded by prejudice and disconnected from partisanism, the speeches of Garfield will be estimated at their true value and will be found to comprise a vast magazine of fact and argument, of clear analysis and sound conclusion. Indeed, if no other authority were accessible, his speeches in the House of Representatives from December, 1863, to June, 1880, would give a well connected history and complete defence of the important legislation of the seventeen eventful years that constitute his parliamentary life. Far beyond that, his speeches would be found to forecast many great measures yet to be completed—measures which he knew were beyond the public opinion of the hour, but which he confidently believed would secure popular approval within the period of his own lifetime, and by the aid of his own efforts.

Differing, as Garfield does, from the brilliant parliamentary leaders, it is not easy to find his counterpart anywhere in the record of American public life. He perhaps more nearly resembles Mr. Seward in his supreme faith in the all-conquering power of a principle. He had the love of learning and the patient industry of investigation to which John Quincy Adams owes his prominence and his Presidency. He had some of those ponderous elements of

mind which distinguished Mr. Webster, and which indeed, in all our public life, have left the great Massachusetts Senator without an intellectual peer.

In English parliamentary history, as in our own, the leaders in the House of Commons present points of essential difference from Garfield. But some of his methods recall the best features in the strong, independent course of Sir Robert Peel, and striking resemblances are discernible in that most promising of modern Conservatives, who died too early for his country and his fame, Lord George Bentinck. He had all of Burke's love for the sublime and the beautiful, with, possibly, something of his superabundance, and in his faith and his magnanimity, in his power of statement, in his subtle analysis, in his faultless logic, in his love of literature, in his wealth and world of illustration, one is reminded of that great English statesman of to-day, who, confronted with obstacles that would daunt any but the dauntless, reviled by those whom he would relieve as bitterly as by those whose supposed rights he is forced to invade, still labors with serene courage for the amelioration of Ireland and for the honor of the English name.

Garfield's nomination to the Presidency, while not predicted or anticipated, was not a surprise to the country. His prominence in Congress, his solid qualities, his wide reputation, strengthened by his then recent election as Senator from Ohio, kept him in the public eye as a man occupying the very highest rank among those entitled to be called statesmen. It was not mere chance that brought him this high honor. "We must," says Mr. Emerson, "reckon success a constitutional trait. If Eric is in robust health, and has slept well and is at the top of his condition, and thirty years old at his departure from Greenland, he

will steer west and his ships will reach Newfoundland. But take Eric out and put in a stronger and bolder man and the ships will sail six hundred, one thousand, fifteen hundred miles further and reach Labrador and New England. There is no chance in results."

As a candidate Garfield steadily grew in public favor. He was met with a storm of detraction at the very hour of his nomination, and it continued with increasing volume and momentum until the close of his victorious campaign:

> "No might nor greatness in mortality
> Can censure 'scape; backwounding calumny
> The whitest virtue strikes. What king so strong
> Can tie the gall up in the slanderous tongue?"

Under it all he was calm, strong, and confident; never lost his self-possession, did no unwise act, spoke no hasty or ill-considered word. Indeed, nothing in his whole life is more remarkable or more creditable than his bearing through those five full months of vituperation—a prolonged agony of trial to a sensitive man, a constant and cruel draft upon the powers of moral endurance. The great mass of these unjust imputations passed unnoticed, and, with the general *debris* of the campaign, fell into oblivion. But in a few instances the iron entered his soul and he dies with the injury unforgotten if not unforgiven.

One aspect of Garfield's candidacy was unprecedented. Never before in the history of partisan contests in this country had a successful Presidential candidate spoken freely on passing events and current issues. To attempt anything of the kind seemed novel, rash, and even desperate. The older class of voters recalled the unfortunate Alabama letter, in which Mr. Clay was supposed to have signed his political death-warrant. They remembered also

the hot-tempered effusion by which General Scott lost a large share of his popularity before his nomination, and the unfortunate speeches which readily consumed the remainder. The younger voters had seen Mr. Greeley in a series of vigorous and original addresses preparing the pathway for his own defeat. Unmindful of these warnings, unheeding the advice of friends, Garfield spoke to large crowds as he journeyed to and from New York in August, to a great multitude in that city, to delegations and to deputations of every kind that called at Mentor during the summer and autumn. With innumerable critics, watchful and eager to catch a phrase that might be turned into odium or ridicule, or a sentence that might be distorted to his own or his party's injury, Garfield did not trip or halt in any one of his seventy speeches. This seems all the more remarkable when it is remembered that he did not write what he said, and yet spoke with such logical consecutiveness of thought and such admirable precision of phrase as to defy the accident of misreport and the malignity of misrepresentation.

In the beginning of his Presidential life Garfield's experience did not yield him pleasure or satisfaction. The duties that engross so large a portion of the President's time were distasteful to him, and were unfavorably contrasted with his legislative work. "I have been dealing all these years with ideas," he impatiently exclaimed one day, "and here I am dealing only with persons. I have been heretofore treating of the fundamental principles of government, and here I am considering all day whether A or B shall be appointed to this or that office." He was earnestly seeking some practical way of correcting the evils arising from the distribution of overgrown and unwieldy patronage—evils always appreciated and often discussed by him, but whose magnitude

had been more deeply impressed upon his mind since his accession to the Presidency. Had he lived, a comprehensive improvement in the mode of appointment and in the tenure of office would have been proposed by him, and, with the aid of Congress, no doubt perfected.

But, while many of the executive duties were not grateful to him, he was assiduous and conscientious in their discharge. From the very outset he exhibited administrative talent of a high order. He grasped the helm of office with the hand of a master. In this respect, indeed, he constantly surprised many who were most intimately associated with him in the government, and especially those who had feared that he might be lacking in the executive faculty. His disposition of business was orderly and rapid. His power of analysis and his skill in classification enabled him to despatch a vast mass of detail with singular promptness and ease. His cabinet meetings were admirably conducted. His clear presentation of official subjects, his well-considered suggestion of topics on which discussion was invited, his quick decision when all had been heard, combined to show a thoroughness of mental training as rare as his natural ability and his facile adaptation to a new and enlarged field of labor.

With perfect comprehension of all the inheritances of the war, with a cool calculation of the obstacles in his way, impelled always by a generous enthusiasm, Garfield conceived that much might be done by his administration toward restoring harmony between the different sections of the Union. He was anxious to go South and speak to the people. As early as April he had ineffectually endeavored to arrange for a trip to Nashville, whither he had been cordially invited, and he was again disappointed a few weeks

later to find that he could not go to South Carolina to attend the centennial celebration of the victory of the Cowpens. But for the autumn he definitely counted on being present at the three memorable assemblies in the South, the celebration at Yorktown, the opening of the Cotton Exposition at Atlanta, and the meeting of the Army of the Cumberland at Chattanooga. He was already turning over in his mind his address for each occasion, and the three taken together, he said to a friend, gave him the exact scope and verge which he needed. At Yorktown he would have before him the association of a hundred years that bound the South and the North in the sacred memory of a common danger and a common victory. At Atlanta he would present the material interests and the industrial development which appealed to the thrift and independence of every household, and which should unite the two sections by the instinct of self-interest and self-defence. At Chattanooga he would revive memories of the war only to show that after all its disaster and all its suffering the country was stronger and greater, the Union rendered indissoluble, and the future, through the agony and blood of one generation, made brighter and better for all.

Garfield's ambition for the success of his administration was high. With strong caution and conservatism in his nature, he was in no danger of attempting rash experiments or of resorting to the empiricism of statesmanship. But he believed that renewed and closer attention should be given to questions affecting the material interests and commercial prospects of fifty millions of people. He believed that our continental relations, extensive and undeveloped as they are, involved responsibility and could be cultivated into profitable friendship or be abandoned to

harmful indifference or lasting enmity. He believed with equal confidence that an essential forerunner to a new era of national progress must be a feeling of contentment in every section of the Union and a generous belief that the benefits and burdens of government would be common to all. Himself a conspicuous illustration of what ability and ambition may do under republican institutions, he loved his country with a passion of patriotic devotion, and every waking thought was given to her advancement. He was an American in all his aspirations, and he looked to the destiny and influence of the United States with the philosophic composure of Jefferson and the demonstrative confidence of John Adams.

The political events which disturbed the President's serenity for many weeks before that fatal day in July, form an important chapter in his career, and, in his own judgment, involved questions of principle and right which are vitally essential to the constitutional administration of the Federal Government. It would be out of place here and now to speak the language of controversy, but the events referred to, however they may continue to be a source of contention with others, have become, as far as Garfield is concerned, as much a matter of history as his heroism at Chickamauga or his illustrious service in the House. Detail is not needful, and personal antagonism shall not be rekindled by any word uttered to-day. The motives of those opposing him are not to be here adversely interpreted nor their course harshly characterized. But of the dead President this is to be said, and said because his own speech is forever silenced and he can be no more heard except through the fidelity and the love of surviving friends: From the beginning to the end of the controversy

he so much deplored, the President was never for one moment actuated by any motive of gain to himself or of loss to others. Least of all men did he harbor revenge, rarely did he even show resentment, and malice was not in his nature. He was congenially employed only in the exchange of good offices and the doing of kindly deeds.

There was not an hour, from the beginning of the trouble till the fatal shot entered his body, when the President would not gladly, for the sake of restoring harmony, have retracted any step he had taken if such retracting had merely involved consequences personal to himself. The pride of consistency, or any supposed sense of humiliation that might result from surrendering his position, had not a feather's weight with him. No man was ever less subject to such influences from within or from without. But after the most anxious deliberation and the coolest survey of all the circumstances, he solemnly believed that the true prerogatives of the Executive were involved in the issue which had been raised and that he would be unfaithful to his supreme obligation if he failed to maintain, in all their vigor, the constitutional rights and dignities of his great office. He believed this in all the convictions of conscience when in sound and vigorous health, and he believed it in his suffering and prostration in the last conscious thought which his wearied mind bestowed on the transitory struggles of life.

More than this need not be said. Less than this could not be said. Justice to the dead, the highest obligation that devolves upon the living, demands the declaration that in all the bearings of the subject, actual or possible, the President was content in his mind, justified in his conscience, immovable in his conclusions.

The religious element in Garfield's character was deep and earnest. In his early youth he espoused the faith of the Disciples, a sect of that great Baptist Communion which in different ecclesiastical establishments is so numerous and so influential throughout all parts of the United States. But the broadening tendency of his mind and his active spirit of inquiry were early apparent, and carried him beyond the dogmas of sect and the restraints of association. In selecting a college in which to continue his education he rejected Bethany, though presided over by Alexander Campbell, the greatest preacher of his Church. His reasons were characteristic: First, that Bethany leaned too heavily toward slavery; and, second, that being himself a Disciple, and the son of Disciple parents, he had little acquaintance with people of other beliefs, and he thought it would make him more liberal, quoting his own words, both in his religious and general views, to go into a new circle and be under new influences.

The liberal tendency which he had anticipated as the result of wider culture was fully realized. He was emancipated from mere sectarian belief, and with eager interest pushed his investigations in the direction of modern progressive thought. He followed with quickening steps in the paths of exploration and speculation so fearlessly trodden by Darwin, by Huxley, by Tyndall, and by other living scientists of the radical and advanced type. His own Church, binding its disciples by no formulated creed, but accepting the Old and New Testaments as the word of God, with unbiased liberality of private interpretation, favored, if it did not stimulate, the spirit of investigation. Its members profess with sincerity, and profess only, to be of one mind and one faith with those who immediately

followed the Master and who were first called Christians at Antioch.

But however high Garfield reasoned of "fixed fate, free-will, foreknowledge absolute," he was never separated from the Church of the Disciples in his affections and in his associations. For him it held the Ark of the Covenant. To him it was the gate of heaven. The world of religious belief is full of solecisms and contradictions. A philosophic observer declares that men by the thousand will die in defence of a creed whose doctrines they do not comprehend and whose tenets they habitually violate. It is equally true that men by the thousand will cling to church organizations with instinctive and undenying fidelity when their belief in maturer years is radically different from that which inspired them as neophytes.

But after this range of speculation and this latitude of doubt, Garfield came back always with freshness and delight to the simpler instincts of religious faith, which, earliest implanted, longest survive. Not many weeks before his assassination, walking on the banks of the Potomac with a friend, and conversing on those topics of personal religion concerning which noble natures have unconquerable reserve, he said that he found the Lord's Prayer and the simple petitions learned in infancy infinitely restful to him, not merely in their stated repetition, but in their casual and frequent recall as he went about the daily duties of life. Certain texts of Scripture had a very strong hold on his memory and his heart. He heard, while in Edinburgh some years ago, an eminent Scotch preacher, who prefaced his sermon with reading the eighth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, which book had been the subject of careful study with Garfield during his religious life. He was

greatly impressed by the elocution of the preacher and declared that it had imparted a new and deeper meaning to the majestic utterances of Saint Paul. He referred often in after years to that memorable service, and dwelt with exaltation of feeling upon the radiant promise and the assured hope with which the great Apostle of the Gentiles was "persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord."

The crowning characteristic of Garfield's religious opinions, as, indeed, of all his opinions, was his liberality. In all things he had charity. Tolerance was of his nature. He respected in others the qualities which he possessed himself—sincerity of conviction and frankness of expression. With him inquiry was not so much what a man believes, but Does he believe it? The lines of his friendship and his confidence encircled men of every creed and men of no creed, and, to the end of his life, on his ever lengthening list of friends were to be found the names of a pious Catholic priest and of an honest-minded and generous-hearted freethinker.

On the morning of Saturday, July 2d, the President was a contented and happy man—not in an ordinary degree, but joyfully, almost boyishly, happy. On his way to the railroad station, to which he drove slowly, in conscious enjoyment of the beautiful morning, with an unwonted sense of leisure and a keen anticipation of pleasure, his talk was all in the grateful and gratulatory vein. He felt that, after four months of trial, his administration was strong in its grasp of affairs, strong in popular favor, and destined to

grow stronger; that grave difficulties confronting him at his inauguration had been safely passed; that troubles lay behind him, and not before him; that he was soon to meet the wife whom he loved, now recovering from an illness which had but lately disquieted and at times almost unnerved him; that he was going to his Alma Mater to renew the most cherished associations of his young manhood, and to exchange greetings with those whose deepening interest had followed every step of his upward progress, from the day he entered upon his college course until he had attained the loftiest elevation in the gift of his countrymen.

Surely, if happiness can ever come from the honors or triumphs of this world, on that quiet July morning James A. Garfield may well have been a happy man. No foreboding of evil haunted him; no slightest premonition of danger clouded his sky. His terrible fate was upon him in an instant. One moment he stood erect, strong, confident in the years stretching peacefully out before him. The next he lay wounded, bleeding, helpless, doomed to weary weeks of torture, to silence and the grave.

Great in life, he was surpassingly great in death. For no cause, in the very frenzy of wantonness and wickedness, by the red hand of murder, he was thrust from the full tide of this world's interest, from its hopes, its aspirations, its victories, into the visible presence of death—and he did not quail. Not alone for one short moment in which, stunned and dazed, he could give up life, hardly aware of its relinquishment, but through days of deadly languor, through weeks of agony, that was not less agony because silently borne, with clear sight and calm courage he looked into his open grave. What blight and ruin met his anguished eyes, whose lips may tell—what brilliant, broken plans,

what baffled, high ambitions, what sundering of strong, warm, manhood's friendship, what bitter rending of sweet household ties! Behind him a proud, expectant nation, a great host of sustaining friends, a cherished and happy mother, wearing the full, rich honors of her early toil and tears; the wife of his youth, whose whole life lay in his; the little boys not yet emerged from childhood's day of frolic; the fair young daughter; the sturdy sons just springing into closest companionship, claiming every day and every day rewarding a father's love and care; and in his heart the eager, rejoicing power to meet all demands. And his soul was not shaken. His countrymen were thrilled with instant, profound, and universal sympathy. Masterful in his mortal weakness, he became the centre of a nation's love, enshrined in the prayers of a world. But all the love and all the sympathy could not share with him his suffering. He trod the wine-press alone. With unfaltering front he faced death. With unfailing tenderness he took leave of life. Above the demoniac hiss of the assassin's bullet he heard the voice of God. With simple resignation he bowed to the Divine decree.

As the end drew near his early craving for the sea returned. The stately mansion of power had been to him the wearisome hospital of pain, and he begged to be taken from his prison walls, from its oppressive, stifling air, from its homelessness and its hopelessness. Gently, silently, the love of a great people bore the pale sufferer to the longed-for healing of the sea, to live or to die, as God should will, within sight of the heaving billows, within sound of its manifold voices. With a wan, fevered face, tenderly lifted to the cooling breeze, he looked out wistfully upon the ocean's changing wonders; on its far sails; on its restless

waves, rolling shoreward to break and die beneath the noonday sun; on the red clouds of evening, arching low to the horizon; on the serene and shining pathway of the stars. Let us think that his dying eyes read a mystic meaning which only the rapt and parting soul may know. Let us believe that in the silence of the receding world he heard the great waves breaking on a further shore and felt already upon his wasted brow the breath of the eternal morning.

ON THE REMONETIZATION OF SILVER

UNITED STATES SENATE, FEBRUARY 7, 1878

THE discussion on the question of remonetizing silver, Mr. President, has been prolonged, able, and exhaustive. I may not expect to add much to its value, but I promise not to add much to its length. I shall endeavor to consider facts rather than theories, to state conclusions rather than arguments:

First. I believe gold and silver coin to be the money of the Constitution—indeed, the money of the American people anterior to the Constitution, which that great organic law recognized as quite independent of its own existence. No power was conferred on Congress to declare that either metal should not be money. Congress has therefore, in my judgment, no power to demonetize silver any more than to demonetize gold; no power to demonetize either any more than to demonetize both. In this statement I am but repeating the weighty dictum of the first of constitutional lawyers. "I am certainly of opinion," said Mr. Webster,

"that gold and silver, at rates fixed by Congress, constitute the legal standard of value in this country, and that neither Congress nor any State has authority to establish any other standard or to displace this standard." Few persons can be found, I apprehend, who will maintain that Congress possesses the power to demonetize both gold and silver, or that Congress could be justified in prohibiting the coinage of both; and yet in logic and legal construction it would be difficult to show where and why the power of Congress over silver is greater than over gold—greater over either than over the two. If, therefore, silver has been demonetized, I am in favor of remonetizing it. If its coinage has been prohibited, I am in favor of ordering it to be resumed. If it has been restricted, I am in favor of having it enlarged.

Second. What power, then, has Congress over gold and silver? It has the exclusive power to coin them; the exclusive power to regulate their value; very great, very wise, very necessary powers, for the discreet exercise of which a critical occasion has now arisen. However men may differ about causes and processes, all will admit that within a few years a great disturbance has taken place in the relative values of gold and silver, and that silver is worth less or gold is worth more in the money markets of the world in 1878 than in 1873, when the further coinage of silver dollars was prohibited in this country. To remonetize it now as though the facts and circumstances of that day were surrounding us, is to wilfully and blindly deceive ourselves. If our demonetization were the only cause for the decline in the value of silver, then remonetization would be its proper and effectual cure. But other causes, quite beyond our control, have been far more potentially operative than the simple fact of Congress prohibiting its further coinage;

and as legislators we are bound to take cognizance of these causes. The demonetization of silver in the great German Empire and the consequent partial, or wellnigh complete, suspension of coinage in the governments of the Latin Union, have been the leading dominant causes for the rapid decline in the value of silver. I do not think the over-supply of silver has had, in comparison with these other causes, an appreciable influence in the decline of its value, because its over-supply with respect to gold in these later years has not been nearly so great as was the over-supply of gold with respect to silver for many years after the mines of California and Australia were opened; and the over-supply of gold from those rich sources did not effect the relative positions and uses of the two metals in any European country.

I believe then if Germany were to remonetize silver and the kingdoms and states of the Latin Union were to reopen their mints, silver would at once resume its former relation with gold. The European countries when driven to remonetization, as I believe they will be, must of necessity adopt their old ratio of fifteen and a half of silver to one of gold, and we shall then be compelled to adopt the same ratio instead of our former sixteen to one. For if we fail to do this we shall, as before, lose our silver, which like all things else seeks the highest market; and if fifteen and a half pounds of silver will buy as much gold in Europe as sixteen pounds will buy in America, the silver, of course, will go to Europe. But our line of policy in a joint movement with other nations to remonetize is very simple and very direct. The difficult problem is what we shall do when we aim to re-establish silver without the co-operation of European powers, and really as an advance movement to coerce them

here into the same policy. Evidently the first dictate of prudence is to coin such a dollar as will not only do justice among our citizens at home, but will prove a protection—an absolute barricade—against the gold monometallists of Europe, who, whenever the opportunity offers, will quickly draw from us the one hundred and sixty millions of gold coin still in our midst. And if we coin a silver dollar of full legal tender, obviously below the current value of the gold dollar, we are opening wide our doors and inviting Europe to take our gold. And with our gold flowing out from us we are forced to the single silver standard and our relations with the leading commercial countries of the world are at once embarrassed and crippled.

Third. The question before Congress then—sharply defined in the pending House bill—is, whether it is now safe and expedient to offer free coinage to the silver dollar of 412½ grains, with the mints of the Latin Union closed and Germany not permitting silver to be coined as money. At current rates of silver, the free coinage of a dollar containing 412½ grains, worth in gold about ninety-two cents, gives an illegitimate profit to the owner of the bullion, enabling him to take ninety-two cents' worth of it to the mint and get it stamped as coin and force his neighbor to take it for a full dollar. This is an undue and unfair advantage which the government has no right to give to the owner of silver bullion, and which defrauds the man who is forced to take the dollar. And it assuredly follows that if we give free coinage to this dollar of inferior value and put it in circulation, we do so at the expense of our better coinage in gold; and unless we expect the uniform and invariable experience of other nations to be in some mysterious way suspended for our peculiar benefit, we inevi-

tably lose our gold coin. It will flow out from us with the certainty and resistless force of the tides. Gold has indeed remained with us in considerable amount during the circulation of the inferior currency of the legal tender; but that was because there were two great uses reserved by law for gold: the collection of customs and the payment of interest on the public debt. But if the inferior silver coin is also to be used for these two reserved purposes, then gold has no tie to bind it to us. What gain, therefore, would we make for the circulating medium, if on opening the gate for silver to flow in, we open a still wider gate for gold to flow out? If I were to venture upon a dictum on the silver question, I would declare that until Europe remonetizes we cannot afford to coin a dollar as low as 412½ grains. After Europe remonetizes on the old standard, we cannot afford to coin a dollar above 400 grains. If we coin too low a dollar before general remonetization our gold will flow out from us. If we coin too high a dollar after general remonetization our silver will leave us. It is only an equated value both before and after general remonetization that will preserve both gold and silver for us. . . .

Fifth. The responsibility of re-establishing silver in its ancient and honorable place as money in Europe and America, devolves really on the Congress of the United States. If we act here with prudence, wisdom, and firmness, we shall not only successfully remonetize silver and bring it into general use as money in our own country, but the influence of our example will be potential among all European nations, with the possible exception of England. Indeed, our annual indebtment to Europe is so great that if we have the right to pay it in silver we necessarily coerce those nations by the strongest of all forces, self-interest, to

aid us in upholding the value of silver as money. But if we attempt the remonetization on a basis which is obviously and notoriously below the fair standard of value as it now exists, we incur all the evil consequences of failure at home and the positive certainty of successful opposition abroad. We are and shall be the greatest producers of silver in the world, and we have a larger stake in its complete monetization than any other country. The difference to the United States between the general acceptance of silver as money in the commercial world and its destruction as money, will possibly equal within the next half century the entire bonded debt of the nation. But to gain this advantage we must make it actual money—the accepted equal of gold in the markets of the world. Remonetization here followed by general remonetization in Europe will secure to the United States the most stable basis for its currency that we have ever enjoyed, and will effectually aid in solving all the problems by which our financial situation is surrounded.

Sixth. On the much-vexed and long-mooted question of a bimetallic or monometallic standard my own views are sufficiently indicated in the remarks I have made. I believe the struggle now going on in this country and in other countries for a single gold standard would, if successful, produce widespread disaster in the end throughout the commercial world. The destruction of silver as money and establishing gold as the sole unit of value must have a ruinous effect on all forms of property except those investments which yield a fixed return in money. These would be enormously enhanced in value, and would gain a disproportionate and unfair advantage over every other species of property. If, as the most reliable statistics affirm, there are nearly seven thousand millions of coin or bullion in the

world, not very unequally divided between gold and silver, it is impossible to strike silver out of existence as money without results which will prove distressing to millions and utterly disastrous to tens of thouands. Alexander Hamilton, in his able and invaluable report in 1791 on the establishment of a mint, declared that "to annul the use of either gold or silver as money is to abridge the quantity of circulating medium, and is liable to all the objections which arise from a comparison of the benefits of a full circulation with the evils of a scanty circulation." I take no risk in saying that the benefits of a full circulation and the evils of a scanty circulation are both immeasurably greater to-day than they were when Mr. Hamilton uttered these weighty words, always provided that the circulation is one of actual money, and not of depreciated promises to pay.

In the report from which I have already quoted, Mr. Hamilton argues at length in favor of a double standard, and all the subsequent experience of wellnigh ninety years has brought out no clearer statement of the whole case nor developed a more complete comprehension of this subtle and difficult subject. "On the whole," says Mr. Hamilton, "it seems most advisable not to attach the unit exclusively to either of the metals, because this cannot be done effectually without destroying the office and character of one of them as money and reducing it to the situation of mere merchandise." And then Mr. Hamilton wisely concludes that this reduction of either of the metals to mere merchandise (I again quote his exact words) "would probably be a greater evil than occasional variations in the unit from the fluctuations in the relative value of the metals, especially if care be taken to regulate the proportion between them with an eye to their average commercial value." I do

not think that this country, holding so vast a proportion of the world's supply of silver in its mountains and its mines, can afford to reduce the metal to the "situation of mere merchandise." If silver ceases to be used as money in Europe and America, the great mines of the Pacific Slope will be closed and dead. Mining enterprises of the gigantic scale existing in this country cannot be carried on to provide backs for looking-glasses and to manufacture cream-pitchers and sugar-bowls. A vast source of wealth to this entire country is destroyed the moment silver is permanently disused as money. It is for us to check that tendency and bring the continent of Europe back to the full recognition of the value of the metal as a medium of exchange.

Seventh. The question of beginning anew the coinage of silver dollars has aroused much discussion as to its effect on the public credit; and the Senator from Ohio (Mr. Matthews) placed this phase of the subject in the very forefront of the debate—insisting, prematurely and illogically, I think, on a sort of judicial construction in advance, by concurrent resolution, of a certain law in case that law should happen to be passed by Congress. My own view on this question can be stated very briefly. I believe the public creditor can afford to be paid in any silver dollar that the United States can afford to coin and circulate. We have forty thousand millions of property in this country, and a wise self-interest will not permit us to overturn its relations by seeking for an inferior dollar wherewith to settle the dues and demands of any creditor. The question might be different from a merely selfish standpoint if, on paying the dollar to the public creditor, it would disappear after performing that function. But the trouble is that

the inferior dollar you pay the public creditor remains in circulation, to the exclusion of the better dollar. That which you pay at home will stay there; that which you send abroad will come back. The interest of the public creditor is indissolubly bound up with the interest of the whole people. Whatever affects him affects us all; and the evil that we might inflict upon him by paying an inferior dollar would recoil upon us with a vengeance as manifold as the aggregate wealth of the Republic transcends the comparatively small limits of our bonded debt. And remember that our aggregate wealth is always increasing, and our bonded debt steadily growing less! If paid in a good silver dollar, the bondholder has nothing to complain of. If paid in an inferior silver dollar, he has the same grievance that will be uttered still more plaintively by the holder of the legal-tender note and of the national-bank bill, by the pensioner, by the day laborer, and by the countless host of the poor, whom we have with us always, and on whom the most distressing effect of inferior money will be ultimately precipitated.

But I must say, Mr. President, that the specific demand for the payment of our bonds in gold coin and in nothing else comes with an ill grace from certain quarters. European criticism is levelled against us and hard names are hurled at us across the ocean, for simply daring to state that the letter of our law declares the bonds to be payable in standard coin of July 14, 1870; expressly and explicitly declared so, and declared so in the interest of the public creditor, and the declaration inserted in the very body of the eight hundred million of bonds that have been issued since that date. Beyond all doubt the silver dollar was included in the standard coins of that public act. Payment

at that time would have been as acceptable and as undisputed in silver as in gold dollars, for both were equally valuable in the European as well as in the American market. Seven-eighths of all our bonds, owned out of the country, are held in Germany and in Holland, and Germany has demonetized silver and Holland has been forced thereby to suspend its coinage, since the subjects of both powers purchased our securities. The German empire, the very year after we made our specific declaration for paying our bonds in coin, passed a law destroying so far as lay in their power the value of silver as money. I do not say that it was specially aimed at this country, but it was passed regardless of its effect upon us, and was followed, according to public and undenied statement, by a large investment on the part of the German Government in our bonds, with a view, it was understood, of holding them as a coin reserve for drawing gold from us to aid in establishing their gold standard at home. Thus, by one move the German Government destroyed, so far as lay in its power, the then existing value of silver as money, enhanced consequently the value of gold, and then got into position to draw gold from us at the moment of their need, which would also be the moment of our own sorest distress. I do not say that the German Government in these successive steps did a single thing which it had not a perfect right to do, but I do say that the subjects of that empire have no right to complain of our government for the initial step which has impaired the value of one of our standard coins. And the German Government, by joining with us in the remonetization of silver, can place that standard coin in its old position and make it as easy for this government to pay and as profitable for their subjects to receive the one metal as the other. . . .

The effect of paying the labor of this country in silver coin of full value, as compared with the irredeemable paper or as compared even with silver of inferior value, will make itself felt in a single generation to the extent of tens of millions, perhaps hundreds of millions, in the aggregate savings which represent consolidated capital. It is the instinct of man from the savage to the scholar—developed in childhood and remaining with age—to value the metals which in all tongues are called precious. Excessive paper money leads to extravagance, to waste, and to want, as we painfully witness on all sides to-day. And in the midst of the proof of its demoralizing and destructive effect, we hear it proclaimed in the Halls of Congress that "the people demand cheap money." I deny it. I declare such a phrase to be a total misapprehension, a total misinterpretation of the popular wish. The people do not demand cheap money. They demand an abundance of good money, which is an entirely different thing. They do not want a single gold standard that will exclude silver and benefit those already rich. They do not want an inferior silver standard that will drive out gold and not help those already poor. They want both metals, in full value, in equal honor, in whatever abundance the bountiful earth will yield them to the searching eye of science and to the hard hand of labor.

The two metals have existed side by side in harmonious, honorable companionship as money, ever since intelligent trade was known among men. It is wellnigh forty centuries since "Abraham weighed to Ephron the silver which he had named in the audience of the sons of Heth—four hundred shekels of silver—current money with the merchant." Since that time nations have risen and fallen,

races have disappeared, dialects and languages have been forgotten, arts have been lost, treasures have perished, continents have been discovered, islands have been sunk in the sea, and through all these ages, and through all these changes, silver and gold have reigned supreme, as the representatives of value, as the media of exchange. The dethronement of each has been attempted in turn, and sometimes the dethronement of both; but always in vain. And we are here to-day, deliberating anew over the problem which comes down to us from Abraham's time: *the weight of the silver* that shall be "current money with the merchant."

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THOMAS WHITE

HONORABLE THOMAS WHITE, Canadian parliamentarian, journalist, and an authority on finance, was born at Montreal, Aug. 7, 1830, where he received his education and where his life was chiefly spent. He studied law in Peterboro, Ontario, but did not engage in the practice of the profession. During a number of years he was engaged in journalism in Hamilton, Ontario, and subsequently in Montreal, Province of Quebec, and was one of the most brilliant writers and platform speakers of his day. He was returned to the House of Commons for Cardwell, Ontario, in 1878, and reëlected in 1882, becoming minister of the interior in 1885; and he remained in Sir John Macdonald's government until his death in the spring of 1888. Mr. White was known and loved widely in Canada, not only as an able editor for many years of the conservative Montreal "Gazette," but for his hearty, genial, upright character. As a speaker he was fluent, graceful, and effective.

TWENTY YEARS OF LIBERAL-CONSERVATIVE ADMINISTRATION IN CANADA

DELIVERED AT THE VILLAGE OF L'ORIGNAL, MARCH 5, 1874

WE are here to-day for the purpose of forming a Liberal-Conservative Association. Mr. Hamilton has told you that all through Ontario a similar course is being adopted by the party. You, gentlemen, have not been alone in the absence of proper organization. Unfortunately it has been the lot of the party generally to neglect the organization of the ranks and to depend upon the great skill and statesmanship of the leader.

We have been disposed to think, because our party has been in office for twenty years, it was impossible that it could be defeated, and we have trusted to that skill and statesmanship and to the fact of previous triumphs, rather than to our strong united effort to win the contest. To-day the party is becoming more organized than I believe it has ever been, and from one end of Ontario to the other, and in the other Provinces as well, the electors who hitherto have had Liberal-

Conservatism inscribed upon their banners are uniting, so that when the day arrives they may be ready for the contest with the certainty of success.

It has occurred to me, as we are about to organize, that if possible we should know the grounds upon which we organize. Are we as Liberal-Conservatives entitled to maintain our organization and to look forward to future party triumphs? Is the record of the past such as we may be proud of? Are the achievements of the party during its long tenure of office, such as, if we look back upon them, justify us in keeping alive our party organization, and in looking forward with confidence to the achievements of electoral triumphs in the future? . . .

I should be sorry to take from the people of Canada, in the slightest degree, the great credit which is due to them as an enterprising and progressive people. I am too proud of my country as a native Canadian to do that.

But in a country like Canada, situated as we are in close proximity to the United States, the great element of prosperity must always be confidence in the political institutions of the country. That confidence has been more than once shaken by the political agitations of unthinking men; and only by the removal of those questions of agitation, by their solution in a manner satisfactory to the public at large, can we secure that political quiet which is the best guarantee for public confidence, and the best incentive to the introduction and investment of capital among us. To the settlement of the great questions to which I have to-day referred is due the confidence of the moneyed men of the world in the future stability of our political system, and the great prosperity which has followed that confidence. And as to the

administration of the Liberal-Conservatives during the last twenty years is due the removal of those causes of agitation, to them must be fairly accorded credit for the prosperity of Canada.

During those twenty years the common mode of attack of the Opposition was to assail the personal characters of members of the government. They were called corruptionists, and I can remember that in old elections, instead of giving us the name to which we were entitled, they headed their lists "Liberals," "Corruptionists."

Where are the evidences of corruption from that time to this? Where is there a single charge made of personal corruption against any single minister of the party in the country? It is quite true that on one occasion they thought they had a case against Sir John A. Macdonald. He had dabbled in lands up at Sarnia, they said, and they thought the job would afford a good ground against him. But he made his explanation in Parliament; and what said the leader of the Opposition? Here is the report: "Mr. Foley could not let slip this the last opportunity he had in that Parliament of saying that the explanations of the honorable attorney-general met with his hearty approval."

That is the only charge of personal corruption ever brought against a member of the old government, and his vindication from that charge came from the leader of the Opposition himself.

We never heard of the Sarnia job after that day without reflecting upon the effect of assuming things upon insufficient foundation to damage the reputation of public men. Sir John A. Macdonald, at the time he entered public life, had probably the largest practice of any solicitor in Ontario, with prospects before him which could not have failed to amass

for him great riches and to have made him to-day one of the wealthy men of the country. But after thirty years' service —twenty years of which were spent in an official capacity— he is out of office literally a poor man.

Is that likely to be the case with men who go into public life for the purpose of filching the public purse, taking their share in contracts and otherwise furthering their individual interests? I have in my mind's eye one public man, at any rate, who, a year or two ago, was without visible means of support, known to be in debt at every turn. Now he is rolling in wealth—but I am inclined to think that the position public life gave him helped to it—why or how I don't pretend to say.

Thank God, in the whole record of the Liberal-Conservative administration there has not been a similar instance; our ministers have left public life without the stain upon them of having taken a sixpence of the public funds. When, a couple of years ago, Sir John Macdonald, at a public meeting in the city of Hamilton, stretched forth his arms with the exclamation, "These hands are clean," he stated what was literally true With all the temptations of public and official life he has retired from office without a single stain of corruption upon his personal or public character.

The truth is, sir, that the charges of political vice, of official corruption, were made by the Clear Grits in order to conceal their own practices as a party. During the last session of Parliament we had one rather remarkable case brought forward by Mr. Mackenzie, upon which he asked the sense of Parliament, and put on record his own opinion to show how terribly reckless the old government was and how pure he was in comparison with them. Mr. Griffin, in 1872, was a post-office inspector, and he wrote a letter to a postmaster

in the county of Welland, in which he simply said this: "If you cannot support Dr. King, who is the ministerial candidate, take no active part against him and give no ground of complaint against yourself."

That was a suggestion made by an officer of the government to his brother official; but it so shocked Mr. Mackenzie that he got up in the House and moved this resolution:—

"That it is highly criminal in any minister or ministers, or other servants under the crown, directly or indirectly, to use the power of office in the election of representatives to serve in Parliament; and an attempt at such influence will be at all times resisted by the House, as aimed at its own dignity, honor, and independence."

Well, gentlemen, we have just passed through a general election, and let me ask you how this has been observed. These gentlemen had scarcely obtained seats when the Ottawa mayoralty election came on. And what occurred? The deputy head of at least one department went round to his subordinates and said, "If you cannot vote for the ministerial candidate you must not vote against him."

Why? These men were paying taxes, and had as much interest in the proper management of the city of Ottawa as the government themselves. But the Liberals made a political contest out of a municipal election, and the government were found saying to their employes, "You must not vote at all unless you vote for the ministerial candidate!"

Then, in the Kingston election the finance minister visited the post-office and custom-house and told the employes to vote for Mr. Carruthers, or not to vote at all. Then, again, in the Argenteuil election letters were sent to postmasters of the county telling them to vote for Mr. Cushing, or not vote at all. The case of the Central prison at Toronto is

another beautiful exemplification of the manner in which these pure ministers, these liberal-minded ministers, these ministers who record it as an offence against the dignity and honor of Parliament for members of a government, or even subordinate officials of a government to attempt to exercise influence in an election, carry out their Opposition principles when they obtain office. Mr. McKellar with his own hand wrote to the superintendent of those works ordering him to send the men to the nomination for West Toronto in order to increase the apparent majority for Mr. Moss, the ministerial candidate. In this case, not only was official and ministerial influence used, but the public exchequer was mulcted to the extent of the half day's pay of each of these men, in order to provide a party triumph.

Even in this very county we had, during the last election, some illustrations of how ministerial influence was used.

We saw here an old contractor who in times past, when the Conservative party had contracts to give, was a Conservative, traversing the country in the interests of the ministerial candidate and endeavoring by dint of his old Conservative associations to win Conservatives from the cause. If rumor be true he did not come altogether empty-handed, and he soon after received his reward. The election was scarcely well over when a contract for the Ottawa booms, awarded to one gentleman, and the work by him actually commenced, was cancelled on the technical ground that the tender was a few minutes late, although its deposit in the postoffice within the specified time was attested by the postmaster, and the work was given to new contractors, one of whom was understood to be our old friend, the renegade missionary to the county of Prescott.

I have the information from undoubted sources that in

New Brunswick and Nova Scotia the most unblushing use of ministerial and official influence was made in the elections. Mr. Mackenzie has boasted in his address that he had voluntarily given up on behalf of the government the great advantage of so arranging the days of election as to make the result of one influence that of others. But what was the fact? With the influence of the two governments at his back he felt tolerably confident of Ontario, and he did fix the elections on one day in Old Canada. But in the other Provinces, where the influence of success was likely to be greatest, he deliberately so arranged them as to secure the greatest advantage.

In New Brunswick they were arranged so as to leave the elections where the Opposition was supposed to be the strongest to the last, in order that the influence of success elsewhere might have its effect in favor of the government candidates. And in Nova Scotia, where by the local law the elections must be held on one day, he so arranged that they should all take place a week after the result in Ontario and Quebec became known. And what then was seen? Why, from every hustings the most unblushing use was made of the argument that the influence of the constituency with the government would depend upon the fact of their sending a ministerialist to represent them.

The administration, it was urged, had already secured a working majority, even though the Province should go as a unit against them; and was it wise that they should voluntarily range themselves for the then coming Parliament with the ranks of a hopeless minority? Such was the cry, and its effect is unfortunately but too well known. Even the local premier, acting for and speaking for his friends in the Dominion government, went from platform to platform re-

minding the constituencies that their chances of ministerial favors depended upon their granting ministerial support. And by means of those influences and arguments, by means of this prostitution of official and ministerial power and patronage, in violation of the doctrine I have quoted to you as enunciated by Mr. Mackenzie in the case of the Griffin letter, a large majority of supporters was obtained for the government from the maritime Provinces.

Coming again nearer home, we have the illustration of the influence of the vacant shrievalty of this county. We know there were gentlemen who in times past had worked in the ranks with you, and who were found working on the other side.

It was said of them that they had this office dangled before them and were looking forward to the occupancy of the coveted place. The late sheriff had died some months before. Under ordinary circumstances it was the duty of the government to fill the office promptly. But it was more convenient to keep it as a bait for aspirants during the elections. We had rumors in every direction as to who the fortunate man would be, and we had either passive or active resistance on the part of some gentlemen, accounted for by the fact that they had received this much encouragement, at least, that the vacant office must be filled, and they were wonderfully clever fellows and wonderfully well qualified for the position.

Well, the election was scarcely well over and the necessity for this means of using ministerial and official influence past when a gentleman was appointed—who had at least this merit, that he had not deserted his party for the chance of an office; and I am inclined to think there are a good many sore heads in the county of Prescott to-day on account of this

matter. These are but a few illustrations of how the gentlemen who are now in office can, from the Opposition benches, lay down doctrines such as those embodied in the resolution I have read to you, and then when in office can, in violation of these doctrines, prostitute ministerial influence and the patronage of the Crown to their own party interests, as was never done in Canada under any former administration.

And now, sir, let me say that I had some doubts whether in an address such as that which I am now delivering I should refer in any way to the celebrated Pacific scandal, the immediate cause of the downfall of the Liberal-Conservative government. But it occurred to me that, now that the elections are over—now that men's minds have cooled down, now that there are no votes to be got by discussing the question and denouncing the public men of the country in connection with it, now when the sober second thought must be beginning to assert itself, that now might be a good time to look at the question fairly and dispassionately and deal with it as it really deserves to be dealt with, to see what it really amounts to, and whether it was the heinous, unpardonable American connection in the matter of the Pacific Railway.

The gravamen of the charge is not that Sir Hugh Allan subscribed a large sum of money to the elections. He, as a wealthy member of the party, had a right to do this if he chose to do it. Even the pure-minded gentlemen who now sit on the ministerial benches, and who are so horrified at the idea of money being spent at elections, could, if they were for a moment seized with that rare commodity—candor—tell us of some pretty large expenditures during the last elections, and could perhaps tell us that the source of that reservoir, from which an almost never-ceasing supply ran into the different counties, is to be found in the remarkable

change recently announced in their views on the subject of American connection in the matter of the Pacific Railway.

I have no doubt that Mr. R. W. Scott, who from his seat at Ottawa, sent forth his missionaries into the different counties, could tell us something. I have no doubt that throughout the country, as, for instance, in one of the divisions of Montreal, we could find evidences of expenditures which aggregated over the whole Dominion would make the contribution of Sir Hugh Allan, great as it was, appear small. The truth is, and I admit it with regret, that money does get spent at elections, and my own experience is that those who bawl most loudly for purity generally manage to spend the most.

The gravamen of this charge, I repeat, is not the mere fact of subscription by a wealthy member of the party to the election funds of the party. The gravamen of the charge is, and if that could be established it would be a damning one, that Sir John A. Macdonald, being the first minister of the crown, entered into such an agreement with Sir Hugh Allan, who was at the time both a contractor and an expectant contractor, and accepted money from him for party purposes on such terms as prevented him doing his duty to the country in regard to any contract in which Sir Hugh Allan was interested. Is there anything in the records of Parliament since the elections of 1872, or in the evidence taken before the commission, or in the well-known facts connected with the Pacific Railway charter, to justify this charge?

Take the first. It is true that Sir Hugh Allan, or rather the firm of which he is the head, was a contractor, a contractor for carrying the ocean mails. Well, what happened? The very first session after these transactions took place that contract had to be renewed, and it was renewed at half the

price of the old one! Did that look like being bound by any agreement against the interests of the country?

And as to the second, we know from the testimony of a gentleman who certainly showed during the November session no disposition to befriend the late government, that Sir Hugh Allan was compelled to abandon, one after another, all the special features of the Pacific Railway charter upon which he had set his heart, and was not even consulted, but, on the contrary, his advice was actually rejected in the matter of the gentlemen who were to compose that company. I know of my own knowledge that in relation to one gentleman especially, with whom he had been acting in railroad matters, he felt deeply chagrined at not having been able to secure his presence on the board of directors. Did that look as if there had been an agreement which bound ministers to Sir Hugh Allan against their own independent conception of their duty to the country? . . .

Sir John Macdonald, gentlemen, committed a great mistake in being personally connected with any question of money for the elections and he has most grievously suffered for it. It was a mistake resulting from the absence in Canada of those political organizations which in England assume the management of these things, and it was a mistake which he committed in common with other public men of both political parties, and, if I am not greatly mistaken, in common even with members of the pure government which we have presiding over the destinies of Canada to-day.

But no man in Canada, from Prince Edward Island to Vancouver, would venture the assertion that a single sixpence had stuck to his own fingers or tended to enrich himself. The money he obtained he spent in aiding his friends throughout Ontario in their elections, and the whole amount

obtained by him did not exceed what I venture to say has been spent in three elections that I would name during the late contest in this country on the Clear Grit side alone.

I venture, sir, to think that the maturer judgment, the sober second thought of the people of this country will yet vindicate the character of the great statesman who has so long presided over the destinies of this country and whose name is so eminently associated with the twenty years of Liberal-Conservative administration in Canada from the bitter aspersions which a mad jealousy and disappointed ambition have heaped upon it.

I venture, sir, to think that that judgment will shape itself after this fashion: Here is a man who, at the cost of professional prospects which might have made him one of the wealthy men of the land, entered at an early age the service of his country, and for thirty years has uninterruptedly given to that service the eminent abilities with which God has endowed him; who for twenty years has been in official life, and has during that time solved all the great questions which separated and agitated the country, and has given to it measures which have brought peace and prosperity to the people; who, finding a number of isolated Provinces with hostile tariffs and local agitations, has welded them into one great Dominion in the enjoyment of free constitutional government under the crown of Great Britain; under whose administration the people have both socially and politically and materially enjoyed a prosperity certainly not excelled by that enjoyed by any other people on the face of the earth; who has made the name of Canada known and respected the world over, and has made for himself an honored name on both sides of the Atlantic; who has received at the hands of his sovereign honors such as have never been bestowed upon any

other colonial statesman; but who at a time of great political crisis, when the interests alike of his party and his country seemed at stake, was tempted to aid his friends in a contest against sectional prejudice backed by the substantial aid of large money support, by accepting from a wealthy member of his party a large subscription toward party funds; who suffered defeat from it; but who throughout all the period of these discussions remained uncharged even of personal corruption for his own advantage; who even when accepting this subscription to party funds was careful not to allow it to embarrass him in his public duty; and when the time came to deal with the wealthy donor kept himself in a position to treat with him on terms of perfect independence and with a single eye to the public interests.

And, sir, when hereafter, when the discussions of to-day have been forgotten, and the influences which prompt those discussions have passed away, the correspondence of Sir Hugh Allan with his American associates comes to be read, and from it is ascertained what Sir Hugh aimed at, and that is contrasted with what he got in the charter, it will require neither skill nor courage to vindicate the great Liberal-Conservative leader from the aspersion of having entered into an agreement to sell a valuable public franchise for gold, with which to corrupt the electors of the country. Perhaps, gentlemen, the time has not come for that sober second thought to assert itself; but that it will come I feel as certain as that I am addressing my good friends in the county of Prescott to-day.

And now, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, why is it that we are to-day forming this association? I have shown you that the policy of the past has been sufficient to solve all the great questions which have agitated the country during the

last quarter of a century. I have shown you that the party which has just attained to office after years of agitation has not one single reform which it can call its own upon which to appeal for public sympathy and support. If, then, the great questions which have agitated parties in the past have been settled, why should we have a party organization such as is now proposed?

We must not forget that under the constitutional system which we happily possess in Canada, based as it is on the model of that of the mother-land, government by party is essential to the well-being and the proper government of the State. An opposition in Parliament is as essential as a government and performs almost as important a function in the administration of the affairs of the country. Not an opposition influenced simply by a factious desire to upset the administration or embarrass it in its work. That is not the ordinary work which a party out of office has to perform. The gentlemen now in power and their friends did their best when in opposition to bring our entire constitutional system into disrepute by forgetting this sound rule. Every measure of the old government was opposed with all the bitterness they could bring to bear upon it, and that from their peculiar temperament was not a little. And yet to-day we have the statement from ministerial lips, that the policy of the new government will be in the main the same as that of the old.

The duty which is before us as Liberal-Conservatives is to illustrate by our conduct what a constitutional opposition is, as the party when in office presented the spectacle of a constitutional government. The duty of an opposition is not to obstruct, but to assist the government in carrying on the affairs of the country. That does not imply that the government should be supported, but it does imply that all meas-

ures submitted by them and all acts of administration committed by them shall be subjected to such fair and candid criticism as will tend to produce as nearly a perfect government as it is possible to have. And it is because of the necessity for this opposition in the interests of good government that the Liberal-Conservatives should organize in every part of the Dominion as you are proposing to do here to-day. Such an organization will prove to the government that it is certain to be subject to a careful vigilance; and it will give to the minority elected to fight the battle of the Opposition in Parliament the encouragement of knowing that although the representation of the party in Parliament has been greatly reduced, there is a stalwart body of men in all the constituencies upon whose intelligence and political firmness and integrity they can rely for support.

The difficulty which may present itself in the formation of these associations is a definition of distinct principles. But there is one principle, and I name it not as distinguishing us from our opponents, for that would imply a charge I should be very sorry to make, viz.: the principle of British connection, which should constitute a first plank in any platform the party may adopt.

You know, gentlemen, at this moment efforts are being made in different parts of the country to start new parties. We have in the city of Toronto one party taking as its motto "Canada First," and another taking as its motto "Empire First." From my point of view both titles are admirable as mere mottoes, but neither by itself meets the requirements of the country. "Canada First"—let that be our motto in everything affecting the interests and prosperity and well-being of this country; let it be our motto in making the name of Canada an honored name, whether in legislation or com-

merce, the world over; let it be our motto in the dissemination of such information relating to our institutions and resources as will make the Dominion an attraction for the emigrating millions of the Old World. "Canada First!"

Let that be our motto so far as the interests of the Dominion, separate and distinct from those of the mother country, so far as they can be so, are concerned. "Empire First!" Let that be our motto so far as the interests of the glorious empire with which we are connected are concerned. "Empire First!" Let that be our motto in our reverence for the dear old flag and in our prayer that it may be borne as loftily in the future as it has been in the past. And if at any time danger should threaten it, and we should be called upon to vindicate in other form than by words our loyalty to the throne, then let "Empire First" be the guiding star under which we shall illustrate that the Queen has in this new Dominion as loyal, stalwart sons and as devoted and fair daughters as in any other part of her vast realms.

But let us take neither to the exclusion of the other. Both are mottoes worthy of our respect and worthy of being accepted by us. Our great object should be as a party to so conduct our public discussions, to so maintain our principles and views, that when the time of electoral struggle comes as come it must before long, we shall be able to show such a front as to save us from the defeats of the past and secure for us the triumphs of the future.

LORD SALISBURY

ROBERT ARTHUR TALBOT GASCOYNE-CECIL, Marquis of Salisbury, distinguished English statesman and premier, was born at Hatfield, Hertfordshire, Feb. 13, 1830, and educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford. He entered Parliament for Stamford in 1853 as Lord Robert Cecil, and was soon known as one of the ablest speakers in Parliament on the Conservative side. On the death of his elder brother, in 1865, he assumed the title of Viscount Cranbourne. He was Secretary of State for India, 1866–67, but resigned from the Cabinet on account of his unwillingness to support the Reform Bill. By the death of his father, in 1868, he succeeded to the title of Marquis of Salisbury and took his seat in the House of Lords. In 1869, he was elected chancellor of the University of Oxford, and on the return of Disraeli to the premiership in February, 1874, he again became Secretary of State for India. He was appointed special ambassador to Turkey in 1876, and in 1878 became Minister of Foreign Affairs. Since the death of Lord Beaconsfield (Mr. Disraeli) in 1881, Salisbury has been the recognized leader of the Conservatives. In 1885, he was Prime Minister, and after a brief Liberal administration was again at the helm as premier in 1886, remaining such until 1892, when he gave place to the Liberal (Home Rule) party under Mr. Gladstone. In 1895, Salisbury became premier for the third time, the most important event occurring within his latest administration being the war with the Boer Republics in South Africa. As a parliamentary speaker, he is distinguished by the force and weight of his utterances, as well as by a biting satire. In conducting the foreign affairs of the Empire, he is always vigorous, dexterous, and astute. He possesses high intellectual ability with a penchant for science.

TAMPERING WITH THE CONSTITUTION

SPEECH DELIVERED IN 1875 TO THE MIDDLESEX (LONDON) CONSERVATIVE ASSOCIATION

MY LORD MAYOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, —I listened to the resolutions which were read one after another from the various deputations which constitute this very remarkable, significant, and representative meeting, and I could not help wondering why it was that the truths which seemed to be so obvious had not made their

impression upon her Majesty's government. Why, having this great work to do, did they deliberately depart from the practice of all which had gone before them and raise up gratuitous difficulties in their way?

It was not from any ignorance on their part of the importance of redistribution as an integral portion of reform. I need only quote that sentence of Mr. Bright's which has been quoted again and again, but which I should like to see prefixed as a sort of text to every conservative sermon.

"Repudiate without mercy any bill that any government whatever may introduce, whatever its seeming concessions may be, if it does not redistribute the seats that are obtained from the extinction of small boroughs amongst the large towns."

But their knowledge was not such ancient history as that. Mr. Bright seems to imagine that he has entirely explained away his utterance given publicly in 1859 by reciting a private note which he says he wrote to Lord Beaconsfield in 1867, and he concludes in the most self-satisfied way that he has entirely explained his previous declaration.

But his colleague on the platform was not less conscious of the necessity of a redistribution of seats. Only on Saturday Lord Hartington is reported to have said, "We admit the inconvenience which will arise if a dissolution should take place."

If a dissolution should take place, as if Mr. Chamberlain and the wire-pullers were not perfectly resolved on that matter!

"We admit the inconvenience which will arise if any dissolution should take place with the extended numbers of the existing constituencies. We know that that will be no fair representation of the people."

Well, at least Lord Hartington knew perfectly well what he was about. Then, what was the motive which induced them to undertake this eccentric and abnormal plan of reform? Well, we had some difficulty in measuring it at first. We were told that it was the extraordinary block in the House of Commons, as if blocks in the House of Commons had never existed before the year 1884.

But, fortunately, as the controversy went on candor increased. It is one of the advantages of the thorough discussion which I hope this question will receive between this and November that all false pretences and all hollow pretexts will be dissipated, and the cause which logically and constitutionally is in the right will be triumphantly established.

You know that Mr. Gladstone at the Foreign Office told us that it was necessary that some pressure should be applied to the House of Commons, that he could not hope to pass his Redistribution Bill unless it was put before them in such a manner that they were to understand that if they had no Redistribution Bill they should have to go to the existing constituencies with the new franchise.

That speech of Mr. Gladstone's at the Foreign Office has been apologized for and slurred over. People intimate that he was not exactly possessed of his usual presence of mind when he made it, and that indeed must have been the case, or otherwise how could he deliberately impute to me words which I never uttered, and not only impute them, but make them the basis of a long, and elaborate, and most injurious indictment? He could not have made that statement if his memory had been in its usual condition.

But now Lord Hartington comes forward and explains to us that it was not merely some spontaneous exuberance of

Mr. Gladstone's indignation that produced this explanation. It was the deliberate purpose of the government to establish a machine for controlling and coercing the judgment of the House of Commons and of the House of Lords. Lord Hartington on Saturday said,

"We know that the passing of any really rational or fair Redistribution Bill is an impossibility unless Parliament and all shades of political opinion are acting under some pressure and compulsion, and that compulsion to the House of Commons and to the House of Lords was to be applied by the creature of Parliament, the prime minister of the day."

Such a pretension has never before been made in our history. The most encroaching monarchs have never made it. It has never been pretended that any man, however high his pretensions and great his authority, should have the power given to him of applying pressure and compulsion to Parliament in the discharge of its legislative duties. Well, it is a tremendous claim.

Let us look what grounds have we for believing that such a power, so unexampled, so without parallel in English history, will be exercised with equity and with justice. Mr. Gladstone — I do not wish to use any harsh language in the matter, but this lies on the surface of current history — Mr. Gladstone has been pre-eminent among statesmen for the rigor with which he has used a victory when he has obtained it; for the determination with which he has pressed to the utmost limit any advantage he has obtained over those opposed to him.

It is not, therefore, to his hands that we should like to trust ourselves, without condition and without defence. And if we look to his past conduct, to the past conduct of the Liberal party, or to the professions which they now put for-

ward in respect to this very question of redistribution, it does not exalt our confidence.

I should like to remind you of a little incident in the last redistribution that took place — the redistribution of 1868 — which throws a flood of light on Mr. Bright's views of justice in this matter. There is a certain suburb of Birmingham which is named Aston. It runs in the counties of North Warwickshire and East Worcestershire. At the last redistribution the commissioners — impartially selected men — recommended that this, which was a suburb of Birmingham, and was in continuity with it, and was simply part of the town, should be made part of the borough of Birmingham.

The matter came before the House of Commons. The Liberal party, though the Opposition, were in a majority. Distinctly because this suburb of Aston might have the effect of influencing in the direction which he wished the counties of North Warwickshire and East Worcestershire, distinctly because it belonged to a community in which the ideas that he admired prevailed, Mr. Bright insisted that the recommendation of the commissioners should be discarded, and that Aston — though it was really part of Birmingham — should be thrown into North Warwickshire and East Worcestershire, for the purpose of controlling, by a population which he hoped was devoted to him and imbued with his ideas, a population that he had reason to think was adverse to him. He was supported by the Liberal party, and a majority reversed the decision of the commissioners.

Now, we do not often have a case which shows the precise spirit in which the leading statesman of the dominant party will approach a question of that kind; but that particular case of Aston might be multiplied a hundred times. It involves the whole question of the separation of interests in this coun-

try. It involves the whole question of keeping alive those rural communities which have existed from the first beginning of our parliamentary system. It involves, above all, the avoidance of arrangements devised to give exceptional power to populations which are impregnated with the political doctrines of the ministry of the day.

Now, we may be quite sure that if Parliament is to be under compulsion and pressure — that means to say, if they are forced to accept any redistribution scheme which the government offers them — this precedent and model of Aston will be followed in every county in the kingdom.

But we need not go to instances of the past. Let us look to what we know of Mr. Gladstone's own professions upon this question of redistribution. He has not told us much. Most of his assertions of principle are very little better than platitudes. But one thing he has told us, and that is that the communities which are at a distance from London are to be better represented than the communities which are close.

Now at first sight that seemed like one of those fantastic theories which sometimes cross the brain of a man of genius, but when you look a little closer there is method in the madness. Let us first look at the distant counties which are to be enfranchised. I will confine myself to this island. We get into hot water directly we get into Ireland.

But confining ourselves to this island only, there is Cornwall. I suppose that is a distant county. That has been uniformly Liberal since the Reform Bill. Then there are the Highlands of Scotland. I suppose that Scotland is a distant county. Well, in Scotland the increase of Liberalism, especially among the distant counties, has, to our misfortune, been very considerable. Twenty years ago we had

fifteen Scotch county members. Now we have only six out of thirty-two. Wales, again, that is a distant county — one of the counties to be specially favored under this scheme. Well, in Wales twenty years ago we had a majority. Now we have only two out of thirty seats.

So that those places which Mr. Gladstone wished, by special exception from the numerical principle, to give a decided advantage to, were places in which his own particular politics were violently on the increase. Well, the circumference is to be favored, because it is Gladstonian.

Now, let us look at the centre, which is to receive no favor. Twenty and thirty years ago we had not a single Conservative member in the metropolis. In 1874, dealing with the constituencies which existed then for the sake of comparison, we should have had — but for the minority seat which is an artificial arrangement in this city — we should have had half the members for the metropolis. So that you see what the centre is which is to be treated with marked disfavor so far as the Gladstone scheme is concerned.

Do you think that is wholly accidental? I find it difficult to bring myself to such a conclusion. And it seems to me that that is a guiding line, and that that is a principle which will animate the people when they come to consider the ministerial redistribution scheme. I heard my right honorable friend say — and I cannot help stealing the phrase from him — that it would be a redistribution scheme by results. It will be favorable, so far as it can decently be done, to those parts of the country where Liberal principles obtain, and unfavorable to those parts where Conservatism is at present in the ascendant.

And to show you how embarrassing is this problem of redistribution, how strongly it presses on statesmen, how

incomplete any measure of reform is without it, I should like to compare the representation of the communities represented in this room with the representation of that favored county where Mr. Gladstone lives to which I have just referred — the principality of Wales.

Whereas the principality represents some 1,400,000 inhabitants, we in this room represent some 5,000,000. Is it possible with that fact before you, to go forward with a Reform Bill that shall not include redistribution? Is it possible that, knowing that Mr. Gladstone has laid down a principle that will uplift Wales and depress the metropolis, we should feel confidence and allow him to draw up his own Redistribution Bill? And we have heard something of blank checks; but this is not merely a blank check — this is a blank disposal of all that we possess for all time, given into the hands of a man who, by the previous conduct of his party and by his own previous utterances, has given us every reason to mistrust him.

I meet with the statement that it is very unconstitutional for the House of Lords to indicate when her Majesty's government may in their wisdom please to dissolve Parliament. Well, I should have said, as a matter of constitutional law, that the person who dissolves Parliament is her Majesty the Queen, and that that is one of the few cases in which necessarily, by the hypothesis of the minister being in issue, or being supposed to be in issue with the people, it is precisely one of the cases in which the Sovereign cannot abandon her will absolutely to the guidance of her advisers.

But now there is the question, how far it is legitimate for the House of Lords to press for a dissolution. Well, I think that any such claim on the part of the House of Lords simply would not be justified by the constitution. But the House

of Lords has a right to say this — "We do not approve of the measure you bring before us. If you like to accept its rejection, well and good; if you object to its rejection your remedy is to appeal to the people." And we do not think that under the constitution there is any other remedy than that.

But with respect to the right, not only in the House of Lords but in all of us, of pressing for a dissolution of Parliament, I admit that if it was to be done in respect to ordinary measures of controversy, or the ordinary legislation on which we have to decide, it would be matter of considerable inconvenience if we were to interfere with the discretion which is ordinarily reposed in the advisers of the crown. But the fallacy, the fundamental fallacy, of all the reasonings of ministerial arguers upon this point is that they ignore the fact that it is not a common question of legislation, it is a vital question, it is a question of the revision of the constitution. And in neither of the other popularly governed countries is the revision of the constitution treated even so lightly as we desire and are content to treat it.

Look at what they do in France. In France they have, curiously enough, the contemporaneous phenomenon of a Liberal minister who is trying to alter the constitution of the country in the hopes that it may affect agreeably the constitution of the next assembly that he has to meet. I presume that that is a characteristic of Liberal ministers all over the world. That whenever they don't know how to get a majority in any other way they try to revise the constitution; but it cannot be done by a simple bill in France as it can in England. There is an elaborate process of revision. A congress must be called under certain guarantees, and guarantees of a tolerably stringent character. It is not

treated in an ordinary manner, and the very fullest recognition is given to the right of the second Chamber to make its own opinions heard and felt in the conduct of that revision.

Well, but we pass from France, with which we have only a certain point of analogy, and go to our kith and kin on the other side of the Atlantic, who, full of English traditions, but cut off by circumstances from monarchy, set up a republic according to their own judgment for themselves. What did they do? They surrounded the question of the revision of the constitution with the most minute and elaborate guarantees. It can only be proposed, in the first instance, by a two thirds majority in both of the Houses of the legislature, and when it has been proposed that is not sufficient. It has to be submitted to each State of the country, and passed there by three fourths of the States.

That is the amount of security which the Anglo-Saxon mind, by circumstances cast loose from tradition, has judged to be absolutely necessary in the conduct of a popular government. And now, because the House of Lords interposes, and says that by a vote of a House of Commons, in the fifth year of its existence, passed at the bidding of a dictatorial minister — and thrown into an unprecedented form — because the House of Lords demurs to such a measure passing into law without the people having been consulted, you are told that they have been guilty of some strange and intolerable arrogance.

Just consider for a moment what the authority of the House of Commons is. I wish to speak of the House of Commons with the highest respect, and there is no doubt that, for ordinary purposes, dealing with ordinary bills, its authority is full and unquestioned to the term of its natural

career; but when it lays hands upon the constitution for the purpose of revising it, a very different state of things arises, and then you cannot turn away your attention from the fact that it is a House of Commons on the decline — that it has already existed longer than the average of Parliaments which have been since the Reform Bill of 1832 — the average is four years and two months, and we have passed that — and that its action is discredited and disavowed by every election that takes place in those constituencies which this bill is intended to affect.

You tell me that this bill has been passed by the representatives of the people. In a legal sense they are the representatives of the people — in a legal sense every act of Parliament is submitted to the unfettered will of the Sovereign, the House of Lords, and the House of Commons; but if you pass from a legal to an actual sense they are not the representatives of the people, they are the representatives of what the people were five years ago. And between that day and this there is an absolute gulf, so completely has the whole surface of the political world changed, so entirely different are all the objects of political controversy and interest, so utterly have passed away the burning questions upon which the last election was decided.

Now Mr. Bright tries to dispose of the House of Lords by saying that it is a Tory caucus. He tries to give you the impression that it was a Tory caucus under Lord Aberdeen and Lord Palmertson, for he mentions their names. But my memory, I think, is as fresh as Mr. Bright's. I can perfectly remember what took place in the House of Lords, for instance. We will not deal with Lord Aberdeen's government. We will deal with Lord Palmerston's. There were two great questions which shook the ministry and

closely divided the House of Commons. They were two of the most burning questions of the day. They were the questions of the Chinese war and the Danish war.

The decision of one of them forced Lord Palmerston to dissolve. The decision of the other in his favor was regarded as the great victory of his administration. How did the House of Lords, this Tory caucus, vote? On both occasions the lords assembled at Westminster voted in favor of Lord Palmerston.

The truth is, that until Mr. Gladstone became a leading figure — became the leader of the Liberal party — there was no talk about this permanent majority in the House of Lords, and my belief is that if ever Mr. Gladstone ceases to be the leader of the Liberal party there will then be no longer that decided Tory majority in the House of Lords.

For whatever else you may say about his legislation, at least there can be no doubt of this, that he has applied principles to the rights of property of his fellow subjects which we never heard of in this England of ours before. Whether they were right or wrong, they were absolutely new, and they seemed to lead not only to gross injustice in the present, but to an illimitable horizon of spoliation in the future, and therefore it is that in the legislative body which has special charge of those interests and those rights, and to watch over the conservance and the protection of those rights of our fellow citizens — that in them that alarm at Mr. Gladstone's proceedings has spread and increased with every year.

I told you when Lord Palmerston was in office he was able on great critical questions to obtain a majority in the House of Lords. Since that time fifty-one Liberal peers have been created against only thirty-one Conservatives, and yet the normal majority is between fifty and seventy against the

government in the House of Lords. Is it surprising that the lords have felt something of that apprehension which has spread to every class and interest and industry in this country?

Look around, where will you find men who count on a secure and certain future in the history of trade? Everywhere you will hear of industry languishing, of commerce unable to find profitable channels, of the hearts of men of business failing them for fear, of banks refusing to receive money on deposit because they do not know where to invest it — every sign of the presence over the community of a great apprehension, of the disappearance of that old security which made property in England seem as solid as the rocks upon which England herself was founded. That time has passed away. Men will not invest as they formerly would; men are not employed as they formerly were; capitalists do not gain profit; the working classes are ceasing in many places to gain livelihoods. Is it surprising that this apprehension, which has reached so many classes of their countrymen, should deeply infect the peers as well, and that the shadow of Mr. Gladstone's formidable individuality should be thrown alike upon the judgment and the apprehensions of English peers as upon the industry, the commerce, and the labor upon which this country depends?

Well, Mr. Bright tells us that he does not go into the question whether the House of Lords has done right or wrong; he seems to abuse the House of Lords, and to desire to prove that they are a very disreputable body of men, who hold a title which he wishes to discredit. But I venture to say, and I submit it to the judgment of those who wish to consider this controversy impartially, that the merits of the House of Lords have nothing whatever to do with the case. The

question is, not what the House of Lords are, or how they got there, but whether they did right or wrong.

It would be no excuse for them if they had not done their duty, to say they have some doubts about the validity of their title to be there. That distinguished assembly over which my right honorable friend the Lord Mayor presides in the city of London, have at least this in common with the House of Lords, that they have been doomed by a distinguished statesman. The decree has gone forth from the lips of Sir William Harcourt that the one shall cease to exist as the decree has gone forth from the lips of Mr. Bright that the House of Lords shall cease to exist; and I think it is quite possible that both assemblies will continue to exist to do useful work for a very long time. If the corporation were to refuse to assemble to-morrow and to perform their ordinary duties, would it be any excuse for them to say, "Oh, we are condemned by Sir William Harcourt, or by any other statesman, and it is perfectly impossible that we can go on performing our duties."

Well, if the House of Lords had not performed what, I think, I have shown to you to be the elementary duty of a second Chamber, to prevent the first Chamber from using its power to filch a perpetuity of political predominance for one party in the state, if the House of Lords had refused to do its duty, on the ground that some Radicals thought that the country had an objection to the principles on which it is formed, would it not have been guilty of the most cowardly and craven action that you can positively conceive? It is a question which we shall be ready to argue when the time comes — the question as to the constitution of the second Chamber, and what is the best way in which it shall be upheld, and whatever its present theoretical difficulties, you

will not in practice much improve upon the House of Lords.

That has nothing to do with the question we have in hand. The question is, if the House of Lords does its duty, could it have acted otherwise than we have done? What is it after all that we have done? We have seen this strange and sinister spectacle of a minister claiming to resist by the compulsion of the House of Commons the action of the House of Lords. We have seen him applying that principle, not to ordinary principles of legislation, but to the most vital matter in which a deliberative assembly can be engaged — the reform of the constitution. We have seen him tampering with the very springs of political power. We have seen him do that in a manner unexampled and without precedent, and the House of Lords said to him, "You shall not exercise this unprecedented power; you shall not claim this right of compulsion; you shall not model the constitution according to your will and the interests of the dominant party of the day."

We are prepared to resist your power unless you will be able to assure us and prove to us that the people by whom alone you exist, by whose mandate you hold power, sanctions this strange exercise of power, and we utterly repudiate the idea that in assuming that attitude we shall be misconstrued by our countrymen.

I am sure that they will feel that in this, as in so many other cases, liberty has had to fear chiefly from the hands of its professed friends. We have been maintaining the essential conditions on which popular government reposes, and we have been upholding the true and ancient principles of English liberty.

THE EGYPTIAN QUESTION

DELIVERED AT EDINBURGH IN NOVEMBER, 1882

WITH regard to the campaign, the first thing that strikes you when you look at it as a whole is wonder that Arabi Pasha, with his force and with his opportunities, should have defied as he did the power of such a country as Great Britain. How is that mystery to be solved? If any nation suffers itself to get into war with a weaker nation which is sufficiently civilized to know the great difference that exists between them, you may depend upon it that there is something in the conduct of that stronger nation which induces the weaker nation to believe that the larger country will never exert its strength.

We have heard a great deal about prestige. I detest the word. It does not really express what we mean. I should rather say "military credit." Military credit stands in precisely the same position as financial credit. The use of it is to represent a military power, and to effect the objects of a military power without the necessity of a recourse to arms. You know that the man possessed of great financial credit can perform great operations by the mere knowledge of the wealth of which he is master, and that it is not necessary to sell him up, and ascertain if he can pay twenty shillings in the pound, in order to have the benefit of all the wealth he can command.

It is the same with a military nation that is careful to preserve its military credit. If it does so, it may, without shedding one drop of blood or incurring one penny of expen-

diture, effect all the objects which, without that military credit, can only result in much waste of blood and treasure.

Now, we were in the position of a financial operator who had raised his own credit by doubtful and dangerous operations. We had squandered our military credit at Majuba Hill, where we took up the position of a power that was willing to submit to any insult that might be placed upon it. We had proclaimed to the world that we were not ready to fight for our military renown, and the tradition of our ancestors was lost to us.

It was a false proclamation, a proclamation that the ministry had no mandate from the nation to make, and which the nation at the first opportunity forced them to disavow. But the disavowal has cost blood and treasure which, if they had been more careful of the reputation of this country, need never have been expended. Three years ago those who maintained such doctrines and insisted on the necessity of the maintenance of your military credit as one of the most precious inheritances of the nation, were denounced as "Jingoes!"

But these Jingoes are justified now. They have her Majesty's government for converts. They have forced her Majesty's government to demonstrate by action that which is their principal contention, that if you suffer military credit to be obscured the fault must be wiped out in blood.

I feel how inadequate I am to deal with a question like this in a place such as this. I know it has been occupied by a much greater artist; and I feel that there has been a loss to the world of splendid specimens of political denunciation, because the misdeeds of the ministry of 1882 are, unfortunately, not subject to the criticism of the orator of

1880. What magnificent lessons, what splendid periods of eloquence we have lost!

Just think that if Mr. Gladstone, when the spirit of 1880 was upon him, could have had to deal with the case of a ministry professing the deepest respect for the concert of Europe, and the deepest anxiety to obey its will — a ministry which, with these professions on its lips, assembled a conference and kept it for months in vain debate, and, under cover of its discussions, prepared armaments, asked for leave to invade a country, and then, when a refusal was given and the armaments were ready, calmly showed the conference to the door, and took, in despite of Europe's will, the country which they had asked the leave of Europe to take — if the orator of 1880 had had such a theme to dwell upon, what would he have said of disingenuousness and subtlety?

Or, take another case: supposing that unequalled orator had had before him the case of a government who sent a large fleet into a port where they had no international right to go, and when that fleet was there had demanded that certain arrangements should be made on land which they had no international right to demand, and when these demands were not satisfied had forthwith enforced that by the bombardment of a great commercial port, would you not have heard about political brigandage? What sermons you would have had to listen to with respect to the equality of all nations, of the weakest and the strongest, before the law of Europe; what denunciations would you not have heard of those who could for the sake of British interests expose such a city to such a catastrophe, and carry fire and sword among a defenceless people!

That great artist drew a picture of Sir Frederick Roberts. I cannot help wishing that he had to draw a portrait of Sir

Beauchamp Seymour; but allow me to say in passing that, if my poor pencil could be employed, it would be drawn in nothing but the most flattering colors.

I think if we can imagine anything so impossible as the orator of 1880 having to describe and comment on the events of 1882, that he would have noticed one of the most remarkable coincidences which the history of this country furnishes. It is a very curious fact that we have only had one member of the Society of Friends — commonly called on the Statute-book "Quakers" — so that I may use the name without offence — in the Cabinet, we have only had one Quaker; and only once in the history of the world, so far at least as this hemisphere is concerned, if I am not mistaken, has a great commercial city of the first class been subject to bombardment.

It is a remarkable fact that when the order was given to bombard that commercial city that Quaker was in the Cabinet. At any rate, grave as these events have been, I think they will furnish some good fruit at least for the future. I hope we have taken a new departure in Liberal politics. I trust that for the future any minister who cares about British interests, and thinks it right to go to war in their defence, will not be subject to denunciation on the part of the Liberal party for doing so.

I am quite aware British interests were treated with scant respect in 1880. I am quite aware Mr. Gladstone denounced as monstrous the idea that we could claim to control a country simply because it lay on our route to India. But if ever there was a war — I do not know what to call it — I believe it was not a war; but if ever there were sanguinary operations undertaken for the sake of British interests, undoubtedly these recent operations in Egypt have deserved the character. . . .

After this precedent it will be impossible for any Liberal government to limit, as they have done in the past, the rights of national self-defence. With respect to the end of that war we have yet to wait. We do not know what the present negotiations may bring forth. We must suspend our judgment until we see what the result will be. I confess that I should be inclined to look on all these circumstances to which I have alluded with a very indulgent eye if the result of the negotiations which are pending should be to extend the strength, the power, and the predominant influence of Great Britain, for I am old-fashioned enough to believe in that empire and believe in its greatness.

I believe that wherever it has been extended it has conferred unnumbered benefits upon those who have been brought within its sway, and that the extension of the empire, so far from being the desire of selfishness or acquisitiveness, as it has been represented to be — deserving to be compared to acts of plunder in private life — is in reality a desire not only to extend the commerce and to strengthen the power of the government here at home, but to give to others those blessings of freedom and order which we have always prized among ourselves.

Let us therefore in the negotiations which are before us not be ashamed of our empire. We are now the predominant power in Egypt. The valor of our troops has made us so. Let us observe with rigid fidelity every engagement we have made with the amiable and respectable prince who rules in Egypt; but as regards the other powers of Europe, let us follow our position to its logical result. We are the predominant power. Why should we cease to be so? Why should we allow diplomacy to fritter away what the valor of our soldiers has won?

A BURNING QUESTION

DELIVERED DURING DEBATE ON THE QUEEN'S SPEECH IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS, FEBRUARY 15, 1883

WE learn from the speech that her Majesty's government have suppressed with rapidity and completeness a formidable rebellion in Egypt. Then we are told that "the withdrawal of the British troops is proceeding as expeditiously as a prudent consideration of the circumstances will admit."

But the great anxiety of the world is to know whether the British troops are to be withdrawn altogether, and when; and upon neither of those questions does the speech give us the slightest hint as to the intentions of her Majesty's government. The government are able to say that they have submitted to the friendly consideration of the powers the mysterious arrangement by which the stability of the Khedive and the prosperity and happiness of the Egyptian people are to be secured. But we have not a hint that any one of those powers has expressed its approval of the arrangement proposed. . . . Hitherto we have spoken of the announcements of the Queen's speech. If the present practice is followed we shall have to drop the phrase and speak of the innuendoes of the Queen's speech. . . . The policy of dealing by innuendoes with unimportant measures might be passed over without remark; but with respect to the burning questions of the day, I cannot help thinking that it is singularly misplaced. First take Egypt.

With respect to that country we have undoubtedly, since Parliament met last year, witnessed a great transformation

scene. For the first six months the policy of the government was instinct with the doctrines connected with the name of that distinguished gentleman, Mr. Bright, who has left the government. For the last six months they have returned to an earlier and a sounder model; but their repentance does not entirely wash away their sin.

It does not efface the effects of their temporary concession to the policy of weakness, vacillation, and self-effacement. The result of their action, or want of action at the proper time, has been that the mechanism has been destroyed by which the results they now look for should be attained. Had they interfered in time, the Khedive's government would have remained upright, and the future conduct of Egypt might not have been difficult. But all the powers that the Khedive's government possessed of itself have been swept away, and for the future all the power of Egypt must be derived from the protective influence of the British government. . . . But if we rightly understand the policy of her Majesty's government — at present we have it only from non-official sources — they intend to rely for the future predominance of England in Egypt only on the prestige derived from the success of the arms of my noble and gallant friend [Lord Wolseley].

I do not dispute the greatness of that prestige. I do not dispute that our army has dealt a good lesson to Egypt and the eastern world, but the recollection of the power of it will speedily fade away. Remember this, that you failed before in your endeavor to maintain the government of Egypt, whether by your own fault or not, though you had not only your own military prestige, proved in every quarter of the world, to sustain you, but the prestige of France as well. . . .

The time is come when it would be of great diplomatic

importance, and of great assistance to the conduct of England in the future, that her position with respect to Egypt should be fully and rigidly defined. We hear from one member of the government that the troops are not to stay in Egypt. We hear from another member that they are to stay until certain objects are achieved, which we know cannot be achieved at an early period. We hear from Mr. Chamberlain that, considering the interests it has, it is impossible for England to look with apathy on anarchy in Egypt; and from Mr. Courtney we hear an inspired panegyric on anarchy, which he appears to regard as the highest blessing that can be bestowed upon a nation. That seems to show that you have no definite policy; and those who look forward to the time when their own influence and power will be restored again, are encouraged to make their preparations for that period, and to keep alive every source of discontent and disturbance that may be at their command.

SPEECH ON THE ABANDONMENT OF GENERAL GORDON

DELIVERED FEBRUARY 26, 1885

[The words of Lord Salisbury's motion of censure were, "That this House, having taken into consideration the statements that have been made on behalf of her Majesty's government, is of opinion that the deplorable failure of the Soudan expedition to obtain its object has been due to the undecided councils of the government and to the culpable delay attending the commencement of operations; that the policy of abandoning the whole of the Soudan after the conclusion of military operations will be dangerous to Egypt and inconsistent with the interests of the empire."]

THE motion which I have the honor to lay before your lordships has a double aspect — it passes judgment on the past, and expresses an opinion with regard to the policy of the future. Some people receive with considerable impatience the idea that, at the present crisis of

our country's destiny, we should examine into the past, and spend our time in judging of that which cannot be recalled.

But I think that such objections are unreasonable. We depend in one of the greatest crises through which our country has ever passed on the wisdom and decision of those who guide our counsels, and we can only judge of what dependence is rightly to be placed by examining their conduct in the past, and seeing whether what they have done justifies us in continuing that confidence in the difficulties which are to come.

Now, whatever else may be said of the conduct of her Majesty's government, I think those who examine it carefully will find that it follows a certain rule and system, and that in that sense, if in no other, it is consistent. Their conduct at the beginning of the Egyptian affair has been analogous to their conduct at the end; throughout there has been an unwillingness to come to any requisite decision till the last moment.

There has been an absolute terror of fixing upon any settled course, and the result has been that, when the time came that external pressure forced a decision on some definite course, the moment for satisfactory action had already passed, and the measures that were taken were taken in haste, with little preparation, and often with little fitness for the emergencies with which they had to cope. The conduct of the government has been an alternation of periods of slumber and periods of rush. The rush, however vehement, has been too unprepared and too unintelligent to repair the damage which the period of slumber has effected.

I do not wish to go far back into the Egyptian question, but it is necessary to point out the uniformity of the character and conduct of the government. The first commence-

ment of our trouble was the height to which Arabi's rebellion was allowed to go. The government knew very well the danger of Arabi while he was yet a small man and had little influence. They were perfectly aware of the mischief he was brewing, but they not only declined to act themselves, but, unless they have been greatly maligned, they prevented the local authorities from acting. They also prevented Arabi from being removed, as he should have been, from the confines of Egypt, by which, had it been done, all the evil would have been averted.

While this enterprise was going on the government reposed in absolute security, and took no effective measure till the pressure of public opinion forced upon them the movement of the fleet into the harbor of Alexandria. That was a very fair illustration of the vice which characterized their policy. That movement was made suddenly, with no preparation, and forced us into what followed. The fleet was moved in; as a matter of course Arabi resisted, and the fleet, as was inevitable, suddenly replied; and then it was found that there were no forces to land and back up the action that was taken.

The result of that imprudence was that not only was the Khedive's throne shaken and the fidelity of his army utterly destroyed, but the town and fortifications of Alexandria were grievously injured, and that tremendous debt for the injury to Alexandria was incurred which still remains as a burden upon Egyptian finance, and a hindrance to all negotiations for the settlement of foreign claims. That was the first specimen of their period of slumber, followed by a sudden and unprepared rush.

Then came the question of the Soudan. It was no new question, for before the battle of Tel-el-Kebir the Mahdi

was already in arms. It was a matter with which anybody who undertook to deal with the destiny of Egypt ought to have been familiar and ready with a decision. But none was at hand, and matters were allowed to drift. The government, plunged in absolute torpor, seemed to have but one care — that they should escape the nominal responsibility, though real responsibility must inevitably attach to their action. Their despatches, one after another, during that period, merely repeated the old burden, that the government had no responsibility.

The result was that the unhappy Hicks went into the Soudan wretchedly equipped, with an army beneath the number he ought to have had, and composed of men turned out as worthless from the Egyptian army. The inevitable result followed — a result at which her Majesty's government had no reason to be surprised, for they were warned of the danger by their own confidential agents, yet absolutely declined to interfere. They hoped by disclaiming responsibility to escape the consequences of their own neglect.

Hicks's army was totally destroyed, and not a man escaped to tell the tale, and then the government awoke from the period of slumber, and the period of rush began. They adopted two measures, both of them as inadequate and inapplicable to the circumstances as it was possible to conceive, and both big with future trouble.

In the first place they announced suddenly to the world and to Egypt that Egypt must abandon the Soudan. It was impossible to have conceived a more stupendous political blunder. It was a proclamation to our enemies that they should enjoy impunity, and to our friends that they would be handed over without mercy to those who claimed to overcome them. But that announcement was made, and from

that moment the fate of the garrisons scattered over the Soudan was sealed. The fate of the garrison of Khartoum was brought home to them forcibly, but did they take any reasonable measures for its relief? Did they send any troops on which they could rely to defend the garrison?

No, they adopted the absurd and Quixotic plan of taking advantage of the chivalry and devotion of one of the noblest spirits our age has seen, by sending him forward on the impossible and hopeless errand of accomplishing by mere words and promises that which they had not the courage to do by force of arms. From that commencement, the abandonment of the Soudan to the mission of General Gordon, all our subsequent troubles arose.

But that was not all, for among those garrisons in the Soudan were those of Sinkat and Tokar, which, so far back as November, 1883, were severely pressed by the Mahdi's lieutenants, and their danger was announced to the government as extreme. But for three months they took no notice of that danger. They allowed the matter to be left to General Baker and a body of Egyptians, whose worthlessness was denounced in every page of the correspondence that was laid before them. Of course General Baker with such a force was inevitably defeated; but it was not until April or May — I think not till a vote of censure was announced — that the government determined on making an effort to do that which they ought to have done, and which, if they had not been asleep, they would have done, three months before — namely, to relieve the garrisons of Sinkat and Tokar. And when the resolution came at last — when the necessity dawned upon their minds — they plunged into it with their usual imprudence and want of plan. They sent men down to Suakim apparently with no idea as to what those men

were to do, and before they could take effective measures Sinkat had fallen and the garrison of Tokar, giving up in despair, had surrendered themselves.

Then the aimlessness of the government was revealed. Having landed their forces they would not expose themselves to the ridicule of taking them away without doing anything, so they slaughtered 6,000 Arabs, and then came away absolutely without any result for the blood of their friends and their enemies shed. They came away guilty of all this bloodshed, because they had plunged into the enterprise without any definite view or any fixed plan by which they proposed to guide themselves.

Now, my lords, these three things, the case of the bombardment of Alexandria, the abandonment of the Soudan, and the mission of General Graham's force — they are all on the same plan, and they all show that remarkable characteristic of torpor during the time that action was needed, and of impulsive, hasty, and ill-considered action when the moment for action had passed by.

Their future conduct was modelled on their conduct in the past. So far was it modelled that we were able to put it to the test which establishes a scientific law. The proof of scientific law is when you can prophesy from previous experience what will happen in the future. It is exactly what took place in the present instance. We had had these three instances of the mode of working of her Majesty's government before us. We knew the laws that guided their action, as astronomers, observing the motions of a comet, can discover by their observations the future path which that comet is to travel; and we prophesied what would happen in the case of General Gordon.

My right honorable friend Sir Stafford Northcote prophe-

sied it in the House of Commons, and was met by a burst of fury from the prime minister such as that assembly has seldom seen. He was told that Egypt was of much less importance than, I think, Sutherland or Caithness, that everything wrong was the result of deficits imputed to him in the finances of some ten years ago, and he was generally denounced because he interfered with the beneficent legislation on the subject of capable citizens, and so forth, by introducing the subject of Egypt as many as seventeen times. That did not prevent his prophecies being correct, and I ventured to repeat them in this House.

I do not like to quote my own words; it is egotistical; but as proof of what I call the accuracy of the scientific law, I should like to refer to what I said on the 4th of April, when we were discussing the prospect of the relief of General Gordon. The government were maintaining that he was perfectly safe, and that it was very unreasonable for us to raise the question in Parliament. What I said was this:

"Are these circumstances encouraging to us, when we are asked to trust to the inspiration of the moment, that when the danger comes the government will find some means of relieving General Gordon? I feel that the history of the past will be again repeated, and just again when it is too late the critical resolution will be taken. The same news will come that the position of Gordon is forlorn and helpless, and then some desperate resolution of sending an expedition will be formed too late to achieve its object."

I quote these words to show that we had ascertained the orbits of those eccentric comets who sit on the Treasury Bench. Now, the terrible responsibility and blame which rests upon them does so because they were warned in March and April of the danger of General Gordon; they had received every intimation which men could reasonably look for that his

danger would be extreme, and delayed it from March and April right down to the 15th of August before they took a single measure.

What were they doing all that time? It is very difficult to conceive. Some people have said, but I think it is an unreasonable supposition, that the cause of the tardiness of her Majesty's government was the accession to the Cabinet of the noble earl the secretary for the colonies [Earl of Derby]. I have quoted, partly with the object of defending the noble lord from that charge, for I have quoted to show that the government were almost as bad before he joined them as they were after. What happened during these eventful months?

I suppose one day some memoirs will tell our grandchildren, but we shall never know. Some people think there were divisions in the Cabinet, and that, after division and division the decision was put off in order that the Cabinet should not be broken up. I am rather inclined to think that it was due to the peculiar position of the prime minister. He came in as the apostle of the Midlothian campaign, loaded with the doctrines and the follies of that pilgrimage. We have seen it on each occasion, after each one of these mishaps when the government has been forced by events and the common sense of the nation to take same more active steps. We have seen how his extreme supporters in that campaign have reproached him as he deserted their opinions and disappointed their ardent hopes. I think that he always felt the danger of that reproach, and the debt he had incurred to those supporters, and felt a dread lest they should break away and put off again and again till the last practical moment any action which might bring him into open conflict with the doctrines by which his present eminence was gained.

At all events, this is clear, that throughout those six months the government knew perfectly well the danger in which General Gordon was placed. It has been said that General Gordon did not ask for troops. Well, I am surprised at that defence. One of the characteristics of General Gordon was the extreme abnegation of his nature. It was not to be expected that he should send home a telegram to say, "I am in great danger, therefore send me troops." He would probably have cut off his right hand before he would have sent such a telegram. But he did send a telegram that the people of Khartoum were in danger, and that the Mahdi must win unless military succor was sent forward, and distinctly telling the government — and this is the main point — that unless they would consent to his views the supremacy of the Mahdi was assured.

This is what he said not later than the 29th of February, almost as soon as he first saw the nature of the problem with which he had been sent to deal. It is impossible that General Gordon could have spoken more clearly than he did, but Mr. Power, who was one of the three Englishmen in Khartoum, and who was sent down with Stewart on that ill-fated journey, on the 23rd of March sent a telegram saying, "We are daily expecting British troops; we cannot bring ourselves to believe that we are to be abandoned by the government. Our existence depends on England."

My lords, is it conceivable that after that — two months after that — in May, the prime minister should have said that the government were waiting to have reasonable proof that Gordon was in danger? By that time Khartoum was surrounded, and the governor of Berber had announced that his case was desperate, which was too surely proved by the massacre which took place in June.

And yet in May Mr. Gladstone was waiting for reasonable proof that they were in danger. Apparently he did not get that proof till August.

I may note in passing that I think the interpretation which the government have placed upon the language of their trusted officers has been exceedingly ungenerous. They told us that they did not think it necessary to send an expedition to relieve Sinkat and Tokar because they could quote some language of hope from the despatches of General Baker, and in the same way they could quote some language of hope from the despatches of General Gordon.

But a general sent forward on a dangerous expedition does not like to go whining for assistance, unless he is pressed by absolute peril. All those great qualities which go to make men heroes are such as are absolutely incompatible with such a course, and lead them to shrink as from a great disgrace from any unnecessary appeal for exertion for their protection. It was the business of the government not to interpret General Gordon's telegrams as if they had been statutory declarations, but to judge for themselves of the circumstances of the case, and to see that those who were surrounded, who were the only three Englishmen amongst this vast body of Mohammedans, who were already cut off from all communication with the civilized world by the occupation of every important town upon the river, were in real danger.

I cannot understand what blindness fell over the eyes of some members of the government. Lord Hartington, on the 13th of May, gave utterance to this expression: "I say it would be an indelible disgrace if we should neglect any means at the disposal of this country for saving General Gordon."

And after that announcement by the minister chiefly responsible, three months elapsed before any step was taken

for doing that which he admitted the government were bound to do under the penalty of indelible disgrace. It has been said that Gordon was destroyed by treachery, and that treachery would have happened at any time when the British army came near Khartoum. What does that extraordinary theory mean?

It means that the Mahdi had agreed with Farag Bey that it was much more comfortable to go on besieging, and that until Lord Wolseley made it dangerous they would go on besieging. I think those who started that unreasonable theory could hardly have been aware of the straits to which the Mahdi had been put. His army was suffering from fever, from cholera, from smallpox; there was great danger of dealing with his men, who were constantly threatening mutiny and desertion. Never was a force more hardly put to it to maintain its position than was this; and depend upon it, if he could have shortened that period of trial by an hour he would certainly have done so. But, supposing it was true that treachery was certain to do its work, what does that prove? Does it not show that sending Gordon to Khartoum was an act of extreme folly?

I do not know any other instance in which a man has been sent to maintain such a position without a certain number of British troops. If the British troops had been there treachery would have been impossible, but sending Gordon by himself to rely on the fidelity of Africans and Egyptians was an act of extreme rashness, and if the government succeed in proving, which I do not think they can, that treachery was inevitable, they only pile up an additional reason for their condemnation. I confess it is very difficult to separate this question from the personal matters involved. It is very difficult to argue it on purely abstract grounds without turn-

ing for a moment to the character of the man who was engaged and the terrible position in which he was placed.

When we consider all that he underwent, all that he sacrificed in order to serve the government in a moment of extreme exigency, there is something infinitely pathetic in reflecting on his feelings, as day after day, week after week, month after month passed by — as he spared no exertions, no personal sacrifice, to perform the duties that were placed upon him — as he lengthened out the siege by inconceivable prodigies of ingenuity, of activity, of resource — and as, in spite of it all, in spite of the deep devotion to his country, which had prompted him to this great risk and undertaking, the conviction gradually grew upon him that his country had abandoned him.

It is terrible to think what he must have suffered when at last, as a desperate measure to save those he loved, he parted with the only two Englishmen with whom during those long months he had had any converse, and sent Stewart and Power down the river to escape from the fate which had become inevitable to himself. It is very painful to think of the reproaches to his country and to his country's government that must have passed through the mind of that devoted man during those months of unmerited desertion. In Gordon's letter of the 14th of December he said: "All is up. I expect a catastrophe in ten days' time; it would not have been so if our people had kept me better informed as to their intentions."

They had no intentions to inform him of. They were merely acting from hand to mouth to avert the parliamentary censure with which they were threatened. They had no plan, they had no intentions to carry out. If they could have known their intentions, a great hero would have been saved

to the British army, a great disgrace would not have fallen on the English government.

Now, by the light of this sad history, what are the prospects for the future? Was there ever a time when clearness of plan and distinctness of policy were more required than they are now? I am not going to say that the policy of the government is bad. It would be paying them an extravagant compliment if I said so. They have no policy. My right honorable friend Mr. Gibson epigrammatically described their policy when he said, "They were going to Khartoum to please the Whigs, and were going to abandon Khartoum to please the Radicals."

Is there not something strange that at such a crisis of our country's fate, in both Houses of Parliament, in the press, in society, and everywhere you hear people asking what is their policy, and can get no answer? Here and there you get a distant echo of policy, something vague and ill-defined, like a distant sound to which you can attach no definite meaning. You sometimes for a moment see the phantom of a policy, but if you try to grasp it, it escapes you.

We used to think the policy of the government was the evacuation of the Soudan as soon as the military operations were over — a very bad policy — but even that does not seem to be their policy. They do not know whether they are going to evacuate the Soudan or not. They don't know who is to hold the Soudan — it may be the Italians, it may be the Turks, or the Chinese.

On one point only do they put down their foot, and that is, the Egyptians shall not keep it. We were told that they were going to smash the Mahdi, but now we are to make peace with the smashed Mahdi. If you smash the Mahdi thoroughly he will be of no use to you, and if you do not

smash him thoroughly he may maintain at the bottom of his heart a certain resentment against the process of being smashed.

It is probable that the Mahdi, in fulfilment of the claims of the religious position he occupies, will decline to have any dealings with the infidel; and if you crush him so entirely by force of arms, he will have lost all his position in the minds of his countrymen; and you will in his assistance or support not find any solution of the terrible problem with which you have to deal.

In the same way with the railway. So far as I know, it is unprecedented to project a railway through an enemy's country, but it implies some views of policy. It appears that her Majesty's government are going to make a railway, and then leave it to the first comers to do what they like with it. Now, it appears to me that in this matter of our Egyptian policy, though I do not say we can lay down the precise steps by which our ends may be obtained — this must depend in a great measure on the judgment of the ministry — still, it is time when we should conceive to ourselves what the ends of our policy are to be, and clearly define it and follow it up with consistency and persistency.

Now, let us examine what are the interests of England in this matter. With Mediterranean politics as such we have no great interest to concern ourselves; but Egypt stands in a peculiar position. It is the road to India. The condition of Egypt can never be indifferent to us, and, more than that, we have a duty to insist — that our influence shall be predominant there. I do not care by what technical arrangements that result is to be obtained; but, with all due regard to the rights of the suzerain, the influence of England in Egypt must be supreme.

Now, the influence of England in Egypt is threatened from two sides. It is threatened from the north diplomatically. I do not think it is necessary that the powers should have taken up the position they have done, and I believe that with decent steering it might have been avoided; but, unfortunately, we have to face inchoate schemes which will demand the utmost jealousy and vigilance of Parliament. I do not know what arrangement the government has arrived at, but I greatly fear that it may include a multiple control, and to that I believe this country will be persistently and resolutely hostile.

But we have to face a danger of another kind. We have forces of fanatical barbarians let loose upon the south of Egypt, and owing to the blunders that have been committed this danger has reached a terrible height. Unless we intend to give over Egypt to barbarism and anarchy we must contrive to check this inroad of barbarian fanaticism, which is personified in the character and action of the Mahdi. General Gordon never said a truer thing than that you do this by simply drawing a military line. If the insurgent Mohammedans reach the north of Egypt it will not be so much by their military force, as by the moral power of their example. We have therefore to check this advance of the Mahdi's power.

Her Majesty's government in the glimpses of policy which they occasionally afford us have alluded to the possibility of setting up a good government in the Soudan. I quite agree that a good government is essential to us in the Soudan. It is the only dyke we can really erect to keep out this inundation of barbarism and fanatical forces.

But her Majesty's government speak as if a good government were a Christmas present, which you can give a country

and then take away. A good government, like any other organization, must pass through the stages of infancy to maturity. There must be a long stage of infancy, during which that government is unable to defend itself, and it requires during that period protection and security, which it can only derive from the action of an external power. It is that protection and security which England must give. She must not desert her task in the Soudan until there is that government there which can protect Egypt, in which the interests of this country are vital. I do not say whether it should be done from the Nile or from Suakim.

I see a noble lord, one of the greatest ornaments of this House, who has conducted an expedition, not of 250 miles, but of 400 miles, and that with success, over the same burning country, and his opinion, given last year, was that Suakim and Berber are the roads by which we should advance. In that opinion I do not say I concur — that would be impertinent — but it is an opinion to which I humbly subscribe. I believe that by the Suakim and Berber route we may obtain a hold over that portion of the Soudan which may enable us to perform our primary duty — namely, to repress the forces of barbarism and fanaticism, to encourage that civilization which, if protected, will find such abundant root in that fertile country, and, above all, to restrain, check, and ultimately to destroy the slave trade, which has been the curse of Africa.

All those advantages can be obtained if England will lay down a definite policy and will adhere to it, but consistency of policy is absolutely necessary. We have to assure our friends that we shall stand by them; we have to assure our enemies that we are permanently to be feared. The blunders of the last three years have placed us in the presence of ter-

rible problems and difficulties. We have great sacrifices to make. This railway will be an enormous benefit to Africa, but do not let us conceal from ourselves that it is a task of no small magnitude. If you are to carry this railway forward you will not only have to smash the Mahdi, but Osman Digma also.

All this will involve great sacrifices and the expenditure not only of much money, but of more of the English blood of which the noblest has already been poured forth. And we are not so strong as we were. At first all nations sympathized with us, but now they look on us coldly and even with hostility. Those who were our friends have become indifferent, those who were indifferent have become our adversaries; and if our misfortunes and disasters go on much longer we shall have Europe saying that they cannot trust us, that we are too weak, that our prestige is too low to justify us in undertaking this task.

My lords, those great dangers can only be faced by a consistent policy, which can only be conducted by a ministry capable of unity of counsel and decision of purpose. I have shown you that from this ministry we can expect no such results. They can only produce after their kind. They will only do what they have already done. You cannot look for unity of counsel from an administration that is hopelessly divided. You cannot expect a resolute policy from those whose purpose is hopelessly halting.

It is for this reason, my lords, that I ask you to record your opinion that from a ministry in whom the first of all — the quality of decision of purpose — is wanting, you can hope no good in this crisis of our country's fate. And if you continue to trust them, if for any party reasons Parliament continues to abandon to their care the affairs which they have

hitherto so hopelessly mismanaged, you must expect to go on from bad to worse; you must expect to lose the little prestige which you retain; you must expect to find in other portions of the world the results of the lower consideration that you occupy in the eyes of mankind; you must expect to be drawn on, degree by degree, step by step, under the cover of plausible excuses, under the cover of highly philanthropic sentiments, to irreparable disasters, and to disgrace that it will be impossible to efface.

GEORGE MURRAY

GEORGE MURRAY, Canadian educator and man of letters, was born at London, March 23, 1830, the only son of the late James Murray, in his lifetime foreign editor of the London "Times." He received his early education at Walthamstow, Essex, afterwards matriculating at King's College, London, where he took the chaplain's two prizes for English verse — original and translated — the principal's prize for Latin verse, together with the senior classical scholarship. Proceeding to Oxford, he obtained among other honors the Lusby scholarship and the Lucy exhibition. Before taking his degree he published "The Oxford ars Poetica; or, How to Write a Newdigate." In 1859, after spending some years on the continent, he came to Canada and was appointed senior classical master of the Montreal High School, a position which he held until 1892. He is an extensive contributor to the Canadian press, and in 1891 published a volume entitled "Verses and Versions," dedicated to Sir Edwin Arnold. Among his journalistic enterprises were "Diogenes," a serio-comic weekly, and the "Free Lance," both published in Montreal. In 1882, he established "Notes and Queries" in the Montreal "Star," and of this department he has since been the editor. He wrote also for the English "Notes and Queries," and for "Once a Week." As a classical scholar, the Ottawa "Journal" places him among the foremost on the American continent. On the formation of the Royal Society of Canada, in 1882, he was appointed by its founder, the Marquis of Lorne, one of the twenty original Fellows of the section of English literature and history. He was secretary for some years of the old Montreal Literary Club, and on the death of the Hon. Thomas D'Arcy McGee, one of the Fellows of that society, was chosen, with two others, to edit the literary remains of the lamented Irish poet and Canadian statesman.

PUBLIC SPEAKING

PARTS OF AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE ATHENÆUM CLUB OF MONTREAL IN 1880

THE question whether oratorical ability be on the whole a public benefit or a mischief, was frequently debated among the ancients; but in the present day it would be a waste of time to dilate upon the advantages of being a skilful speaker. The tongue, which is the sword of

the orator, equals or surpasses in effect, at least for the time being, the pen of the ablest writer. If the true function of eloquence is to enlighten the understanding, to please the imagination, to stir the passions, or to influence the will; the accomplished orator who can attain these ends, and even the less effective speaker, in a minor degree, are possessed of a mighty power, either for good or evil. "The wise in heart," says Solomon, "shall be called prudent, but the sweetness of the lips increaseth learning."

Lord Chesterfield, a very superficial Solomon, but still a man of great worldly wisdom, constantly repeated to his son, that no man in his time could make a fortune or a figure in England without speaking, and speaking well in public. "It does not surprise us," writes Emerson, "to learn from Plutarch what large sums were paid at Athens to the teachers of rhetoric, and if the pupils got what they paid for, the lessons were cheap."

Even a single triumphant speech has occasionally conferred a quasi-immortality. In the year 1755, when Lord Chatham was attacking the Newcastle administration, a member who voted with the ministry found their cause one evening in extreme danger. He accordingly rose, we are told, though he had never before addressed the House, and poured forth a speech, full of cogent argument and fervid emotion, with all the ease and confidence of a practised speaker. But the success of his maiden speech sealed his lips for the future. He was ever after getting ready, but never was ready for a second effort which should surpass his first; and the orator survives in the annals of fame under the sobriquet of "Single-Speech Hamilton."

Again, the loss to the world of speeches which were unrecorded at the time of their delivery has been vainly regretted

by the most illustrious orators; and it is related by Lord Brougham of the younger Pitt that when the conversation turned on lost works, and some said they would prefer to recover the lost books of Livy, some those of Tacitus, and some a Latin tragedy, he at once decided for a speech of Bolingbroke. This was a noble tribute to the oratorical genius of the idol of Swift and of Pope, coming from one who in his own time, though accused by Mr. Windham of speaking in a "state-paper style," produced almost magical effects upon a refined and critical audience.

Let me here, before I forget to introduce it, quote the simple but eloquent panegyric penned by one of England's greatest poets on England's greatest philosopher:

"There happened," writes Ben Jonson, "in my time one noble speaker who was full of gravity in his speaking. No man ever spoke more neatly, more expressively, more weightily, or suffered less emptiness, less idleness in what he uttered. No member of his speech but consisted of its own graces. His hearers could not cough or look aside from him without loss. He commanded where he spoke, and had his judges angry or pleased at his devotion. The fear of every man that heard him was that he should make an end."

"No finer description," says Dugald Stewart, "of the perfection of this art is to be found in any author, ancient or modern."

The prince of Roman orators used the following language in his speech for Muræna: "*Magnus dicendi labor, magna res, magna dignitas, summa autem gratia,*" that is to say: "Great is the labor that qualifies speaking, great the art itself, great its dignity, and most great too, the influence connected with it." Apart from its professional value and advantages to the clergyman, the senator, and the lawyer, the

art of public speaking is the surest means of gratifying that laudable ambition which prompts most men to take some part in the social and political life of their generation. Wherever self-government is recognized there must be gatherings of different kinds for the transactions of public business, and in these the ablest speaker will win the attention and arouse the sympathies of all who listen to his sentiments. Pericles, as we learn from Thucydides, once remarked that, "a man who forms a judgment on any point, and cannot explain his views clearly to the people, might as well have never thought on the subject." This assertion is perhaps too absolute, but, at any rate, it points out with emphasis that the value of a mental action is obviously depreciated when we cannot use the result of it orally for the benefit of others. Mankind seem to agree almost unanimously that no accomplishment gains consideration for its possessor so speedily as public speaking; and there is none for which there is so persistent a demand.

Let me again quote some words of Cicero, from one of his best rhetorical treatises:

"I cannot conceive anything more excellent than to be able, by language, to captivate the affections, to charm the understanding, and to impel or restrain the will of whole assemblies, at pleasure. Among every free people, especially in peaceful, settled governments, this single art has always eminently flourished, and always exercised the greatest sway. For what can be more surprising than that, amidst an infinite multitude, one man should appear who shall be almost the only one capable of doing what nature has put in every man's power? Or, can anything impart such exquisite pleasure to the ear and to the intellect as a speech in which the wisdom and dignity of the sentiments are heightened by the utmost force and beauty of expression? Is there anything so commanding, so grand, as that the eloquence of one man should direct the inclinations of the people, the consciences

of judges and the majesty of senates? Nay, further, can aught be esteemed so great, so generous, so public-spirited, as to assist the suppliant, to rear the prostrate, to communicate happiness, to avert danger, and to maintain the rights of a fellow citizen? Can anything be so necessary as to keep those arms always in readiness, with which you may defend yourself, attack the profligate, and redress your own or your country's wrongs?"

Notwithstanding the truth of these eloquent observations, notwithstanding the acknowledged fact that public speaking as a rule is the passport to profit, to high station, and even to fame, it is certain that as an art, it is comparatively neglected; and the character of the oratory which we usually hear is far inferior to what we might expect from the ordinary culture and intellectual vigor of the present age.

What, then, is the cause of this strange state of things? I would suggest the two following reasons as accounting in a Measure for the phenomenon: First, the majority of people seem hastily to have adopted the notion that the faculty of public speaking is simply and wholly a gift or instinct, peculiar to few, and unattainable by the many. They believe that, like Dogberry's reading and writing, oratory comes by nature — that the orator, in fact, as has been said of the poet, *nascitur non fit;* while the reverse of the case is nearer the truth — *orator fit, non nascitur.* I am far from denying that some men by nature are better fitted than others to become orators. Still less do I affirm that all men are capable of making themselves good speakers. But I firmly believe that all who are not tonguetied, or positively deficient in intellect can learn by diligent practice to express their thoughts publicly in intelligible and intelligent language, and in a manner which is not painful either to themselves or to their audience. "The speaker must learn his

crafts as thoroughly as a painter, a sculptor, or a musician; although, like them also, he must have from nature some special aptitude for his vocation." Lord Chesterfield was, I think, guilty of exaggeration when he maintained that a good speaker is as much a mechanic as a good shoemaker, and that the two trades are equally to be learned by the same amount of application.

The second reason why public speaking as an art is neglected is, that even those who hold the same opinions that I have expressed are still unwilling to undergo the necessary labor to become good speakers. They did not, they say, begin the task early in life, as Henry Ward Beecher recommends in his "Lectures on Preaching," and a new study now appears tedious and irksome to them, or they have really not time for the requisite training, and have no pressing need for the accomplishment as no immediate emolument can be derived from it.

It would be wasting breath to argue against these frivolous objections. The best way to expose their futility, and at the same time to show how the art of public speaking may be acquired, is carefully to ascertain by what means the greater number of those who have succeeded as orators or debaters have attained their success. Those who endeavor to follow their example and adopt their methods may probably fail to gain their supreme mastery over the instrument of language; but, in the end, they will have profited largely by their self-discipline, and it is honorable to win by hard work even a low rank amid a crowd of competitors.

Some years ago, on the occasion of distributing the prizes at University College, London, the Earl of Derby delivered a speech, which no one, old or young, can read without profit or admiration. Part of it I shall quote as strictly applicable

to the present subject. As the orator of old insisted on action, so Lord Derby insisted on industry, premising that his exhortations on this head must necessarily appear common-place. But a common-place well explained is no common-place in the ordinary sense of the term, and Lord Derby did not declare industry to be the grand secret of success in life without showing its necessity and its products. Capital, in whatever shape it may be accumulated, whether pecuniary or intellectual, is hoarded labor. The man who is ready now has constantly worked hard to be ready, and his present state of modest confidence is the result of unwearied drill. In the words of Lord Derby, "We have heard at the bar, or in Parliament, men whose instantaneous command of words, whose readiness of thought as well as of expression, seemed the effect of instinct rather than of training; but what is the secret of that readiness? Why, this — that the mind has previously been so exercised on similar subjects that not merely the necessary words, but the necessary arguments and combinations of thought, have become by practice as instinctive as those motions of the body by which we walk or speak, or do any habitual and familiar act.

"One man will pore and perplex himself over a difficult point, be it in law or science, or what you will; another will come in and see at a glance where the difficulty lies, and what is the solution. Does that necessarily prove that the latter has more genius? No, but it proves that his faculties have been sharpened by familiarity with such topics; and the ease with which he now does his work, so far from proving that he has always worked with ease, is a measure, so to speak, of the labor by which he has prepared himself for doing it."

These are wise and true words, well worthy of our atten-

tion. To the same effect is the testimony of Sydney Smith, who shows by indubitable proofs that the greatest poets, historians, and orators have labored as hard in their specialties as the makers of dictionaries and the compilers of indexes. No man, says Henry Ward Beecher, can preach well except out of an abundance of well-wrought material. Some sermons seem to start up suddenly, body and soul, but in fact they are the product of years of experience. Natural genius is but the soil, which let alone, runs to weeds. If it is to bear fruit and harvests worth reaping, no matter how good the soil is, it must be ploughed and tilled with incessant care.

> "The heights by great men reached and kept
> Were not attained by sudden flight;
> But they, while their companions slept,
> Were toiling upward in the night."

Lord Brougham, whose competency to instruct us on the subject of public speaking no one will be bold enough to deny, used the following language in 1820, and was apparently so satisfied with its truthfulness that he reproduced it forty years afterward in the address which he delivered at his installation as chancellor of the University of Edinburgh:

"I dwell upon the subject of what is called extempore speaking in order to illustrate the necessity of full preparation and of written composition of those who would attain real excellence in the rhetorical art. In truth, a certain proficiency in public speaking may be acquired by any one who chooses often to try it, and can harden himself against the pain of frequent failures. If he is a person of no capacity his speeches will of course be bad; but even though he be man of genius, they will not be eloquent.

"A sensible remark or a fine image may occur; but the loose and slovenly diction, the want of art, in combining and disposing his ideas, the inability to bring out many of his

thoughts, and the incompetency to present any of them in the most efficient form, would reduce the speaker to the level of an ordinary talker. His diction is sure to be clumsy and incorrect — unlimited in quantity, but of no real value.

"Such a speaker is never in want of a word, and hardly ever has one that is worth hearing. '*Sine hac quidem conscientia*,' says Quintilian, speaking of the habit of written composition, '*illa ipsa extempore dicendi facultas inanem modo loquacitatem dabit, et verba in labris nascentia.*'[1] It is a common error to call this natural eloquence. It is the reverse: It is neither natural nor eloquent."

If public men in every grade would but take to heart this advice of Lord Brougham, the quantity would be reduced and the quality enhanced of what commonly passes by the name of eloquence. It is not that the age of oratory like that of chivalry has passed away, but that the necessity for study and the discipline it exacts is not sufficiently recognized.

"The untaught speaker [continues Lord Brougham] who utters according to the dictates of his feelings, may now and then achieve a success. But in these instances he would not be less successful if he had studied the art, while that study would enable him to succeed equally in all that he delivers. Herein, indeed, consists the value of the study: It enables a man to do at all times what nature teaches only on rare occasions."

We cannot value too highly these opinions of Lord Brougham. The eloquence of the untrained and uncultivated is elicited only by special occasions. It is not at command. The speaker does not master his powers, but is mastered by them. When wanted, they are not always at hand, and when drawn forth by emergencies, they often transport him beyond his mark. As Archbishop Whately once said, "he has but

[1] Without this consciousness that very power of extempore speaking will give merely an empty loquacity and words stringing forth from the lips.

the same 'command of language' that the rider has of a horse that has run away with him." But the eloquence of the trained and cultivated speaker is a power, though often dormant, yet always ready for use; when summoned it appears, though there be no favoring circumstances. It can speak even to reluctant ears, and compel an audience.

The story of Demosthenes, whose orations, according to Hume, present to us the models which approach the nearest to perfection, is well known to every schoolboy. How he was nick-named "ὁ Βαταλός" or "the stammerer;" how he cured his stuttering by speaking with pebbles in his mouth; how he strengthened his weak lungs by repeating verses of the poets as he ran up hill; how he declaimed on the seashore in stormy weather to accustom himself to the tumult of the Athenian popular assemblies; how his first oratorical effort was received with ridicule — these and other statements may, perhaps, not be literally true, but at any rate they attest the tradition of antiquity that he labored hard and successfully to overcome his natural deficiencies for public speaking. In spite of the severe discipline which he underwent to master the art of rhetoric, and notwithstanding the faculty of speech which he must have acquired by persistent practice, it is related of him that, like Pericles, whom he so greatly admired, he had an unconquerable aversion to extemporaneous addresses. He was unwilling to "trust his success to Fortune," that is, to the uncertain inspiration of the moment.

By a detailed examination of the repetitions that occur in some of his finest orations, Lord Brougham has enabled us to appreciate the progressive workmanship of many striking passages. We are thus, as it were, let into the secret of their composition, almost as if the rough draught had been preserved. As Moore has pointed out in his "Life of Sheridan"

that many of his *soi-disant* spontaneous witticisms — the hoarded repartees and matured jests with which Pitt taunted him — had passed through numerous editions on paper before they charmed the social circle or electrified the House of Commons; so Lord Brougham shows that some of the most admired sentences of Demosthenes, when he wished to adapt them to new occasions, were invested with fresh beauty by happy variations in expression which had been suggested subsequently to their original delivery.

Passing over the incredible labors of Cicero, which he has fully described in his various works on oratory, let us select some "modern instances," all tending to prove the value and necessity of incessant toil. When Woodfall, a tolerably good judge of public speaking, had heard Sheridan's maiden speech in Parliament, he said to him discouragingly: "I am sorry to say that I do not think this is your line; you had much better have stuck to your former pursuits."

"It is in me, however," said Sheridan, after a short pause, "and, by God, it shall come out."

This has been called a case of the intuitive consciousness of latent power; but, if Brougham is correct in his estimate, Sheridan's genius for oratory fell far short of his assiduity in cultivating it. Some defects, we are told, he never could eradicate. A thick and indistinct mode of delivery, and an inability to speak without the most careful preparation characterized him to the end; but by excessive labor he verified his own prediction, and as an orator eventually attained to excellence rarely equalled, and, if we are to judge by the verdict of his contemporaries, never, with all his faults, surpassed.

When Burke brought forward in the House of Commons the various accusations against Warren Hastings, the charge

relating to the spoliation of the Begums was allotted to Sheridan. His speech was made on February 7, 1787, and occupied nearly six hours in delivery. When the orator sat down, the whole house as if fascinated with his eloquence burst into an involuntary tumult of applause. It was the first time, we are told, that any speech in Parliament had ever been received with cheers.

Burke declared it to be the most extraordinary effort he had ever witnessed; while Fox said, "all that he had ever heard, all that he had ever read, when compared with it, dwindled into nothing, and vanished like vapor before the sun."

Even Pitt, who had frequently satirized the dramatic turns and epigrammatic points of Sheridan, acknowledged "that it surpassed all the eloquence of ancient and modern times, and possessed everything that genius or art could furnish to agitate and control the human mind."

Twenty years afterward Windham asserted that "the speech deserved all its fame, and was, in spite of some faults of taste, such as were seldom wanting in the literary and parliamentary performances of Sheridan, the greatest that had been delivered within the memory of man."

It should not be forgotten that the debate was adjourned when the speech was concluded, in order that the House might have time to recover their calmness and collect their reason. As Lord Lytton describes the scene in his poem of "St. Stephen's:"

> "He who had known the failure, felt the sneer,
> Smit burning brows in muttering, 'It is here'—
> He now, one hour the acknowledged lord of all,
> Hears Pitt adjourn the agitated hall,
> That brain may cool, and heart forget to swell,
> And dawn relax the enchanter's midnight spell."

This effective oration, though written out in full, and committed accurately to memory, was never published. The author preferred trusting his fame to the tradition of its effects rather than to the production itself. In so doing he probably acted wisely. He never, says Moore, made a speech of any moment of which a sketch was not found among his papers, with the showy parts written two or three times over. His memoranda show the exact place where the involuntary exclamation, "Good God, Mr. Speaker," was to be introduced, and exhibited elaborate "burst of passion," into which it was his intention to be "hurried." Lord Brougham has thus recorded the means by which after a most unpromising beginning Sheridan finally attained his prodigious success: —

"What he wanted in acquired learning and natural quickness he made up by indefatigable industry. Within given limits toward a present object no labor could daunt him. No man could work for a season with more steady and unwearied application. By constant practice in small matters, or before private committees, by diligent attendance upon all debates, by habitual intercourse with all classes of dealers in political wares, he trained himself to a facility of speaking absolutely essential to all but first-rate genius, and all but necessary even to that. By these steps he rose to the rank of a first-rate speaker, and as great a debater as want of readiness and need for preparation would permit."

The case of Benjamin Disraeli bears some resemblance to that of Brinsley Sheridan. In 1837 he was elected member for Maidstone. On December the seventh of that year his maiden speech in the House was deservedly cut short by a burst of inextinguishable laughter, and he ended it with the memorable words: "I am not at all surprised at the reception which I have experienced. I have begun several times

many things, and I have often succeeded at last. I will sit down now, but the time will come when you will hear me."

His prophecy, like Sheridan's, has also been verified, and by dint of the same indefatigable toil.

Chatham and Burke in like manner, Pitt and Fox, Grattan, Erskine, Curran and Shiel, Lord Brougham, Macaulay, and the finest orators of the present day, form no exception to the fixed law that genius, to succeed even in public speaking, cannot afford to dispense with labor, all it can do is to shorten the time of labor. Lord Chatham, at the age of eighteen, when he went to the University of Oxford, forthwith entered upon a severe course of rhetorical training. We are informed by his biographers that he adopted the practice of translating largely from the most famous orators and historians of antiquity. His model was Demosthenes, and by frequently writing translations of his finest orations, he insensibly acquired the habit of always using the right word in the right place. This practice of accurate translation he adopted from Cicero, who has recommended it in his treatise "De Oratore," and whose preface to his versions of both Demosthenes' and Æschines' "De Corona" is extant, though the translations themselves have perished. As another means of acquiring a *copia verborum*,[1] and a choice diction, he diligently studied the sermons of Barrow; and, with the same view went twice through Nathan Bailey's folio dictionary, examining the exact meaning and use of every word until he thoroughly appreciated the strength, beauty, and significance of the English language, and could enlist any part of it at will in the service of his oratory. He trained himself at the same time for the graces of public speaking by unwearied exercises in elocution. An imposing figure

[1] A sufficient vocabulary.

and an eagle eye aided him materially in the effects that he produced, but the amount of drudgery that he underwent is, in the case of so great a man, almost more wonderful than his eloquence I know of no more striking evidence that in the words of the Latin poet: "*Nil sine magno Vita labore dedit mortalibus.*"[1]

But to select an orator of a more argumentative class than Lord Chatham, how did Fox acquire his skill as a debater? "Those, indeed, notably err," writes one of his admirers, "who judging only by the desultory social habits and dissipated tastes of Mr. Fox, concluded that his faculties attained their strength without the necessary toil of resolute exertion."

The propensity to labor at excellence, even in his amusements, distinguished him through life; and we learn from his nephew, Lord Holland, that at every little diversion or employment, at chess, cards, or carving at dinner, he would exercise his faculties with wonderful assiduity till he had attained the required degree of perfection. Fox once remarked to a friend that he had literally gained his skill "at the expense of the House," for he had sometimes tasked himself during a whole session to speak on every question that came up, whether he was interested in it or not, as a means of training his ability for debate.

A debater has been aptly described as "one who goes out in all weathers." He must always be prepared for every emergency, and ready to grapple with his antagonist at a moment's notice. Spurred on by ambition, and untiring in his zeal, Fox rose, as Burke declared, "by slow degrees to be the most brilliant and accomplished debater the world ever saw."

Let us take the case of the last quoted orator and philoso-

[1] Life gives nothing to mortals without great labor.

pher. Burke says of himself in one of his letters: "I was not swaddled and dandled and rocked into a legislator. *Nitor in adversum*[1] is the motto for a man like me." His studies at the University of Dublin were severe. Leland, the translator of Demosthenes, used to speak of him as "a young man more anxious to acquire knowledge than to display it." Accordingly, when he had left college he had mastered most of the great writers of antiquity. Poets and historians, philosophers and orators — all had been laid under tribute to enrich the intellectual treasury of the future orator. Bacon, Shakespeare, and Milton were the great English triumvirate whom he daily studied, and his memory was a vast storehouse of all wisdom, ancient and modern, sacred and profane. Though often spoken to almost empty benches, Burke's speeches are probably the most eloquent ever delivered by any uninspired man. The very reasons which made them unpleasant to the parliamentary members of his own day are those which have rendered them invaluable to posterity. Burke's oratory was essentially didactic. His speeches were dissertations, or declaimed pamphlets, and while his hearers were absorbed in considering what they deemed the mere question of the hour he rose to grand generalizations until his arguments on particular topics assumed the dignity of universal propositions. To quote once more from Lord Lytton's poem:

> "But what the faults that could admirers chill,
> And then the benches plain Dundas could fill?
> Partly in matter—too intent to teach—
> Too filed as essay not to flag as speech;
> Too swift a fellowship with those around,
> Words too ornate, and reasonings too profound;
> All this a Chatham might have brought in vogue—
> Yes—but then Chatham did not speak in brogue!"

[1] I struggle against opposition.

Fox, in distinction to Burke, at once seized the strong points of a case and avoiding all circuitous processes and subtle exposition, struck at the very heart of a subject, and forced the attention of his audience. Nevertheless, in 1790 Fox stated in the House of Commons that "if he were to put all the political information which he had learned from books, all that he gained from science, and all that any knowledge of the world and its affairs had taught him, into one scale; and if the improvements which he had derived from his right honorable friend's instruction and conversation were placed in the other, he should be at a loss to decide to which to give the preference." "Burke's talk," said Dr. Johnson, "is the ebullition of his mind. He does not talk from a desire of distinction, but because his mind is full." On another occasion he declared: "Burke is the only man whose common conversation corresponds with the general fame which he has in the world. Take up whatever topic you please, he is ready to meet you." Again: "No man of sense can meet Mr. Burke by accident under a gateway, to avoid a shower, without being convinced that he is the first man in England."

We may rest assured that Burke did not become her greatest orator, the most instructive conversationalist, and the first man in England (according to Dr. Johnson) without having previously undergone almost superhuman labor. Nay, more, he boasted of his incessant toil, and, disclaiming superior abilities, attributed his success to his superior industry.

We are accustomed to read accounts which seem almost fabulous of the oratorical powers of Curran. He could command at will the laughter and the tears of his audience; and it has been said that while he poured forth his invective like a stream of lava he could inflame the minds of his coun-

trymen almost to madness by a recital of their alleged wrongs. Lord Brougham, who, however, has given us no sketch of his life, calls him "the greatest orator, after Grattan and Plunket, that Ireland has produced, and, in every respect, worthy of being placed on a line with those great masters of speech." We might reasonably imagine that Curran if any one was a born orator; but what do we find stated if we turn to any of his biographies? We learn that his voice was bad, his articulation indistinct, and that he was nicknamed by his school fellows, "Stuttering Jack Curran."

Certainly a curious coincidence between his case and that of Demosthenes, to which I alluded before. Nor were the two men unlike in many other respects, though their style of oratory was wholly different. Curran's manner was awkward, and his general appearance ridiculous. The portrait of him prefixed to his life by Charles Phillips is one that can scarcely be forgotten. It was only by unremitting efforts that he conquered his innumerable faults, both of action and elocution. Keenly alive to his deficiencies he declaimed daily before a mirror (as Demosthenes had done two thousand years ago) and recited *ore rotundo* select passages from standard authors. His repeated failures at the London debating societies procured for him the title of "Orator Mum." But, as Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton has said: "The main difference between the great and the insignificant is energy, invincible determination, a purpose once fixed, and then — death or victory. That quality will do anything that can be done in the world." That quality Curran possessed, and with him the struggle ended not in death, but in victory. "He turned his shrill and stumbling brogue," writes one of his friends, "into a flexible, sustained, and finely modulated voice. His action became free and forcible; and he acquired a perfect

readiness in thinking on his legs. His oratorical training was as severe as any Greek ever underwent."

In a letter which is dated March 10, 1823, and written to Zachary Macaulay, with reference to the oratorical education of his son, Thomas Babington, Lord Brougham has these words: "I composed the peroration of my speech for the Queen in the Lords after reading and repeating Demosthenes for three or four weeks. I composed it twenty times over at least, and it certainly succeeded in a very extraordinary degree, and as far above any merits of its own." This famous peroration is as follows. The climax in the opening sentence has been much admired: —

"Such, my lords, is the case now before you! Such is the evidence in support of this measure — evidence inadequate to prove a debt — impotent to deprive of a civil right — ridiculous to convict of the lowest offence — scandalous if brought forward to support a charge of the highest nature which the law knows — monstrous to ruin the honor, to blast the name of an English Queen! What shall I say, then, if this is the proof by which an act of legislation, a parliamentary sentence, an *ex post facto* law, is sought to be passed against this defenceless woman? My lords, I pray you to pause. I do earnestly beseech you to take heed! You are standing upon the brink of a precipice — then beware! It will go forth your judgment, if sentence shall go forth against the Queen. But it will be the only judgment you ever pronounced which, instead of reaching its object, will return and bound back on those who give it.

"Save the country, my lords, from the horrors of this catastrophe — save yourselves from this peril — rescue that country of which you are the ornaments, but in which you can flourish no longer when severed from the people than the blossom when cut off from the roots and stem of the tree. Save the country that you may continue to adorn it — save the crown, which is in jeopardy — the aristocracy, which is shaken — save the altar, which must stagger with the blow that rends its kindred throne!

"You have said, my lords, you have willed — the church and the King have willed — that the Queen should be deprived of its solemn service. She has, instead of that solemnity, the heartfelt prayers of the people. She wants no prayers of mine. But I do here pour forth my humble supplications at the Throne of Mercy that that mercy may be poured down upon the people in a larger measure than the merits of their rulers may deserve, and that your hearts may be turned to justice."

Undoubtedly this is powerful rhetoric, though by no means beyond the reach of criticism; but the following passage from Lord Brougham's speech in the House of Commons in 1830, on negro slavery, is, I think, more vigorous and impulsive:

"Tell me not of rights — talk not of the property of the planter in his slaves. I deny the right — I acknowledge not the property. The principles, the feelings of our common nature rise in rebellion against it. Be the appeal made to the understanding or the heart, the sentence is the same that rejects it. In vain you tell me of laws that sanction such a claim.

"There is a law above all the enactments of human codes — the same throughout the world, the same in all times — such as it was before the daring genius of Columbus pierced the night of ages, and opened to one world the sources of power, wealth, and knowledge — to another all unutterable woes. It is the law written in the heart of man by the finger of his Maker; and by that law, unchangeable and eternal, while men despise fraud, and loathe rapine, and abhor blood, they will reject the wild and guilty phantasy that man can hold property in man! In vain you appeal to treatises, to covenants between nations, the covenants of the Almighty, whether of the old covenant or the new, denounce such unholy pretensions."

As a contrast to the rushing vehemence of Brougham let me quote a brief passage of calm beauty from Daniel Webster's oration on Adams and Jefferson. To me it seems almost

a perfect specimen of what the subtle grace of simple words can effect when they are combined by the hand of a master:

"Although no sculptured marble should rise to their memory, nor engraved stone bear record to their deeds, yet will their remembrance be as lasting as the land they honored. Marble columns may indeed molder into dust — time may erase all impress from the crumbling stone — but their fame remains, for with American liberty it rose, and with American liberty only can it perish. It was the last peal of yonder choir, 'Their bodies are buried in peace, but their name liveth evermore.' I catch the solemn song, I echo that lofty strain of funeral triumph, 'Their name liveth evermore.'"

The first of ancient critics asserted of the diction of Plato that it resembled a piece of sculpture or fine chasing rather than written composition. In like manner it can be shown, by innumerable quotations from the speeches of John Bright, that severe simplicity of style is in many cases the result of exquisite workmanship. I select two examples from parliamentary speeches delivered during the Russian war, to which, as indeed to all wars, Mr. Bright was strongly opposed.

"I am not, nor did I ever pretend to be a statesman; and that character is so tainted, and so equivocal in our day, that I am not sure that a pure and honorable ambition would aspire to it. I have not enjoyed for thirty years, like these noble lords, the honors and emoluments of office. I have not set my sails to every passing breeze. I am a plain and simple citizen, sent here by one of the foremost constituencies of the Empire, representing feebly, perhaps, but honestly, I dare aver, the opinions of very many and the true of all those who have sent me here. Let it not be said that I am alone in my condemnation of this war, and of this incapable and guilty administration.

"And even if I were alone, if mine were a solitary voice, raised amid the din of arms and the clamor of a venal press,

I should have the consolation I have to-night — and which I trust will be mine to the last moment of my existence — the priceless consolation that no word of mine has tended to promote the squandering of my country's treasure, or the spilling of one drop of my country's blood."

The second sample that I shall quote is equally simple and effective: —

"I cannot but notice that an uneasy feeling exists as to the news which may arrive by the very next mail from the East. I do not suppose that your troops are to be beaten in actual conflict with the foe, or that they will be driven into the sea; but I am certain that many homes in England in which there now exists a fond hope that the distant one may return — many such homes will be rendered desolate when the next mail shall arrive.

"The Angel of Death has been abroad throughout the land; you can almost hear the beating of his wings. There is no one, as when the first-born were slain of old, to sprinkle with blood the lintel and the two sideposts of our doors, that he may spare and pass on. He takes his victims from the castle of the noble, the mansion of the wealthy, and the cottage of the poor and lowly; and it is on behalf of all these classes that I now make this solemn appeal."

Though Mr. Bright is no classical scholar, he is obviously indebted to Horace for the wording of part of this passage. To prove, moreover, with what care he refines and elaborates his sentences, I may mention that in the first edition of his speeches the passage to which I refer read as follows: "But he calls at the castle of the noble and the mansion of the wealthy, equally as at the cottage of the humble." The alteration, no doubt, is slight, but the improvement is undeniable.

Equally simple in its diction is the peroration of Mr. Gladstone's speech in 1866 on Lord Grosvenor's amendment to the motion for the second reading of the Suffrage Extension Bill. I will read it to you as it is not long: —

"We stand or fall with this bill, as has been declared by my noble friend, Lord Russell. We stand with it now; we may fall with it a short time hence. If we do so fall, we, or others in our places, shall rise with it hereafter. I shall not attempt to measure with precision the forces that are to be arrayed against us in the coming issue. Perhaps the great division of to-night is not to be the last, but only the first of a series of divisions. At some point of the contest you may possibly succeed. You may drive us from our seats. You may slay, you may bury the measure we have introduced. But we will write upon its gravestone for an epitaph this line, with certain confidence in its fulfilment:

Exoriere aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor.[1]

You cannot fight against the future. Time is on our side. The great social forces which move onward in their might and majesty, and which the tumult of these debates does not for a moment impede or disturb, those great forces are against you; they work with us — they are marshalled in our support. And the banner which we now carry in the fight, though perhaps at some moment of the struggle it may droop over our sinking heads, will yet float again in the eye of heaven, and will be borne by the firm hands of the united people of the three kingdoms, perhaps not to an easy, but to a certain and to a not distant victory."

purposed when I began this address merely to offer some plain and practical hints on the subject of public speaking — hints drawn partly from a personal study of many of the best English speakers, and partly from wise counsels that I have at times received from competent instructors, but I have dwelt so long upon the patient and indispensable labor by which almost all famous orators have attained their renown, that I have left myself no space for my intended observations. This, however, I cannot regret, as the time has, I

[1] Some avenger shall arise from our ashes.

hope, been not unprofitably employed in dilating upon the necessity of industry, and in reading to you varied, though necessarily brief, specimens of the choicest eloquence.

For several years I enjoyed the honor and privilege of being intimately acquainted with the lamented D'Arcy McGee. The subject of oratory was one about which he delighted to converse, and on which he was well qualified to discourse with authority. Though a ready speaker himself, both from natural genius and from long practice he was like Demosthenes or Pericles of old, by no means an advocate of strictly extemporaneous oratory. He held, with a wise living critic, that the ease with which a half-formed idea, swimming on the mind's surface, is clothed in equivocal words and illustrated with vague images, is the "fatal facility" which produces mediocrity of thought. It was for this reason that never, if he could help it, did he deliver even a ten-minutes' speech in public without careful premeditation and the use of the pen. He deemed it a want of respect, or rather an insult to an intelligent audience, that any ordinary man, relying on mere fluent elocution, should presume to advise or instruct them without having maturely reflected on the topic of discussion, and shaped his thoughts into order and consistency.

Hence, his few remarks on the murder of President Lincoln, and his brief address on the ter-centenary of Shakespeare, are favorable specimens of thoughtful eloquence. It is no secret to many of us that, during the latter years of his life in Montreal, when he so frequently spoke in the evening at the gatherings of national societies, he invariably wrote beforehand a comprehensive abridgment of his intended speech, and sent it to one of the papers for publication next morning. This circumstance will account for the fact that

the reports of the speeches to which I allude will be found, on comparison, to differ considerably in the versions of our two morning journals. The one recorded the substance, and often the very language of what actually was said: and the other printed an elaborate abstract of what the orator had designed to say. Mr. McGee told me more than once that he hoped some day to publish an annotated edition of all the speeches in Milton's "Paradise Lost," as he considered them almost faultless models of the rhetorical art. He regretted also the want of some cheap school book, which should contain select specimens of British oratory, with an introduction, and critical notes accompanying each extract.

But I must leave these recollections and hasten to a close. In his Inaugural Discourse delivered fifty years ago at the University of Glasgow, Lord Brougham seems to have said all that is essential on the subject of public speaking. "I should," says he, "lay it down as a rule admitting of no exception that a man will speak well in proportion as he has written much; and that, with equal talents, he will be the first extempore speaker who has prepared himself the most sedulously when he had an opportunity of delivering a premeditated speech. • All the exceptions which I have heard cited to this principle are apparent ones only proving nothing more than that some few men of rare genius have become great speakers without preparation, but in nowise showing that with preparation they would not have reached a much higher pitch of excellence."

Few of us will refuse credit to these convictions of Lord Brougham, for, surely, we have all experienced that the tongue's most powerful auxiliary is the pen. "Nulla res," writes Cicero, "tantum ad disendum proficit quantum scriptio;" and again: "Caput est quod minime facimus:

est enim magni laboris quod fugimus, quam plurimum scribere." Once more: "Stylus optimus et præstantissimus dicendi effector et magister," that is to say, writing is the best and most excellent modeller and teacher of oratory; and to use his own beautiful simile, the habit of writing the higher passages in a speech will communicate force to the extemporaneous portions, as a boat retains her onward way from the impulse previously given, even when the strokes of the oar have ceased.

It is by no means advisable, in any case, that the whole of a speech should be committed to writing, and then committed to memory. Unless a man be an actor like Shiel — "the Kean of orators," as Lord Lytton called him — he will not be able to speak with real freedom, point or vigor, if he adopts the *memoriter* method. The strain upon the memory is apt to be too severe, and a collapse has not infrequently occurred from a speaker's having degraded himself to be the mere slave of his recollection.

Partial preparation is allowable — nay, advisable in the greatest orators. Exordiums and perorations, and the general sketch of the speech may well be arranged and shaped beforehand; but some scope should be left for the impulse of the moment. The greatest thoughts are often those struck out by the mind when at a glow, and in debate they are caught up by other minds in a congenial state. Had Macaulay not composed beforehand, and carefully committed to memory the whole of his speeches, he would probably have been considered the finest orator in the world. As it was, when he was called up suddenly, under circumstances which precluded the possibility of verbatim preparation, he produced more striking effects than usual, and attained that inspiring fervor which comes direct from the heart, and finds

at once a kindred response. Such, at any rate, is the verdict of those who listened most often to his oratory.

Nevertheless, the habit of composition will suggest to the speaker at all times the best word and the best sentence, and, according to universal experience, will be of invaluable assistance when the necessity arises for unpremeditated reply. Familiarity with writing and practice in speaking act and react advantageously upon one another. On this point I cannot resist an apposite quotation from Quintilian (Book x, chap. 7): "Both exercises are reciprocally beneficial since it is found that by writing we speak with great accuracy, and by speaking we write with greater ease."

"Reading," said Bacon, "makes a full man; speaking, a ready man; and writing, a correct man. The perfection of public speaking consists in the union of the three qualities — fulness, readiness, and correctness."

ZEBULON BAIRD VANCE

ZEBULON BAIRD VANCE, American senator, was born in Buncombe Co., N. C., May 13, 1830, and died at Washington, D. C., April 14, 1894. He was educated at Washington College, Tenn., and at the University of North Carolina. After studying law and being admitted to the Bar in 1853, he settled in Asheville, in his native State, and in 1854 entered the North Carolina legislature. He was elected to Congress in 1858, at which time he was opposed to the secession of his State; nevertheless, after the outbreak of the Civil War, he entered the Confederate army as a captain in 1861. He was elected Governor of North Carolina in 1862 and reëlected in 1864. In 1863, he urged President Davis to undertake negotiations with the United States to bring about a cessation of hostilities, and did much to mitigate the discomforts of the Union soldiers imprisoned within his jurisdiction. After the occupation of North Carolina by the Federal troops, he was imprisoned for some weeks at Washington. In 1870, he was elected to the United States Senate, but being refused admission resigned in 1872 and practiced law at Charlotte till his election for the third time in 1876 to the governorship of North Carolina. His political disabilities having now been removed by Congress, he was returned to the United States Senate, of which he continued a member until his death. Senator Vance was chairman of many congressional committees, and was one of the most popular members of the Upper House. He was an eloquent speaker and zealously advocated the cause of free silver and of tariff reform.

THE SLAVERY QUESTION

FROM SPEECH DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, MARCH 16, 1860

THE scheme of removing and colonizing four million people is so utterly absurd in practice that it needs only to be suggested to exhibit its entire impracticability. Amalgamation is so odious that even the mind of a fanatic recoils in disgust and loathing from the prospect of intermingling the quick and jealous blood of the European with the putrid stream of African barbarism.

What, then, is best and right to be done with our slaves? Plainly and unequivocally, common sense says, keep the slave where he is now — in servitude. The interest of the

slave himself imperatively demands it. The interest of the master, of the United States, of the world, nay, of humanity itself, says, keep the slave in his bondage; treat him humanely, teach him Christianity, care for him in sickness and old age, and make his bondage light as may be; but above all, keep him a slave and in strict subordination; for that is his normal condition; the one in which alone he can promote the interest of himself or of his fellows.

If this is not the language of political philosophy and true philanthropy, if this is not right, then are my most ardent convictions and the most generous impulses of my heart but shallow and false delusions; and I pray to be enlightened, as one who would, if possible, rise above all the surroundings of prejudice and section to view this great question solely by the pure and unflickering light of truth.

Such being our circumstances, and such our convictions, it is time for the opponents of slavery to know, and to be warned, that it is something more than pecuniary interest that binds us to that institution. It is not, as we are often tauntingly told, a desire for gain, or an aversion to physical labor, that makes us jealous of any interference with slavery.

The principle is more deeply seated than this. The general welfare and prosperity of our country, the very foundation of our society, of our fortunes, and, to a greater or less extent, the personal safety of our people, combine to make us defend it to the last extremity. And neither considerations of the Federal Union, nor any other good, will allow us to permit any direct interference with our rights in this respect.

But we are to be lulled to sleep, and our fear quieted, as to the purposes of the Republican party, by the oft-repeated assertions of your leaders, that you do not intend to interfere with it in the States. You say, again and again, that you

only intend to prevent its extension into the Territories; and you complain that southern men will unjustly continue to charge you with interference with it inside the States. Mr. Seward, in his recent opiate, says:

"3. That the capital States [by which he is supposed to mean slave States] do not practically distinguish between legitimate and constitutional resistance to the extension of slavery in the common Territories of the Union, and unconstitutional aggression against slavery established by local laws in the capital States."

And Mr. Wade has laid it down recently, as one of the grand principles of the Republican party, that there shall be no interference with slavery inside the States. I contend, sir, that to prohibit slavery in all the Territories, by an act of Congress, or to refuse to admit a new State because she recognizes slavery, would be a direct and unequivocal interference, about which common sense will admit of no sort of doubt.

In the first place, because it materially impairs the value of my property to restrain my power to remove it; and especially to make it no longer my property when I take it into what Mr. Seward himself acknowledges to be "the common territory." If your shoes and cotton fabrics were prohibited by Congress from entering the south, you would find their value impaired most woefully, and would justly regard it as an interference with the rights of trade.

In the second place, by surrounding the slave States with free territory, and building us in with an impassable wall, you would eventually force the abolition of slavery. Our population would become so dense, and our slaves so numerous, that we could not live; their value would depreciate to nothing, and we would not be able to keep them.

Do you not call this interference? If not, then what is it? A general desires to take a certain city; thinking it too strong to be won by storm, he sits down with his army before it, draws his lines of circumvallation, cuts off its supplies, and, shutting off all communication, waits patiently for famine and domestic insurrection to do their work. True, he says, "Don't be alarmed in there; I am not going to interfere with your internal affairs; I have no right to do that; in fact, one of the rules of war in my camp is, no interference with the internal affairs of this city; my only intention is that you shall not spread, as you are a very sinful people."

Yet that city, in spite of these protestations, would soon find itself subjugated and ruined. You are interfering with our rights in the most dangerous manner by thus seeking to violate one of the oldest and plainest principles of justice and reason — that you cannot do indirectly that which you are forbidden to do directly. The voice of the nation speaking through its representatives by a majority of four to one, North and South, affirmed this in 1838. In the twenty-fifth Congress, Mr. Atherton, of New Hampshire, moved a series of resolutions on this subject, the third of which sets forth —

"That Congress has no right to do that indirectly which it cannot do directly; and that the agitation of the subject of slavery in the District of Columbia or the Territories, as a means, and with the view of disturbing or overthrowing that institution in the several States is against the true spirit and meaning of the constitution, an infringement of the rights of the States affected, and a breach of the public faith upon which they entered into the Confederacy."

Upon this resolution the yeas were one hundred and sixty-four, and the nays forty. Well may you complain that the South will not distinguish between your resistance to the

extension of slavery into the Territories and a direct interference with its existence in the States. The acutest minds can only see a different means of attaining the same result.

In the third place, your agitation and eternal harangues have a direct and inevitable tendency to excite our slaves to insurrection. I know that you deny not only an intention to do so, but the effect also.

But you speak in ignorance or disregard of history. It is unnatural to suppose that the noise of this great conflict will not reach the negro's ear, and that your violent professions of regard for his rights will not make him believe that those who shelter him when he runs away, will not also help him to cut his master's throat. The constant denunciation of his owners by your crazy fanatics will make him regard them as monsters, and will cause him to cherish the coals of rebellion until they burst forth into a consuming fire.

Wilberforce and Macaulay did not even intend to abolish slavery in the West Indies when they began their struggle for the rights of the negro — so they said — and they scouted the idea with horror that their agitation would lead to servile war And yet, when the shrieks of murdered men and outraged women went up through the hot roar of conflagration throughout those lovely islands, the raging demons of lust and brutality bore upon their standards the name of Wilberforce, the philanthropist, beneath the effigy of a white woman kneeling at the feet of a negro, and on which was inscribed, "Liberty and white wives!"

And so strongly do these facts press upon you, as the legal result of your abolition teachings, that we have witnessed the mortifying spectacle of gentlemen rising on this floor and solemnly declaring that they were not in favor of servile insurrection!

But all this injustice will you do, and all these dangers to our wives and children will you incur, rather than permit slavery to enter another Territory, or permit it to come into the Union as a slave State, even though the unanimous voice of the people thereof so desired it. And this Territory, which you mock us by calling "common," what do you intend to do with it?

Sir, there are some districts in the south, in which the widows of slain Mexican volunteers will outnumber the whole forces which some of your northern States had in the field during that war. And yet these widows and their orphans are not permitted to enter, with their property, upon these fair lands which their husbands purchased with their blood. They have not even the satisfaction of seeing them sold for the use of the public treasury. You thrust them aside; and, by what you call a "homestead bill," propose to give them away to those among you who cannot pay one shilling per acre for homes.

The advocates of this agrarian iniquity unblushingly avow that it will enable them to ship off the refuse scum and redundant villainy of the cities of the north. Your high-sounding catchwords of "homes for the homeless" and "lands for the landless" can deceive no one. Why not give also money to the moneyless, and shoes to the barefoot? Why not imitate Rome, when growing corrupt, and distribute largesses of money and provisions among the people?

It would be the same, with the difference that Rome robbed her provinces to feed her citizens, whilst you would rob your citizens to feed the provinces. Nay, you would feed the world; for every jail, workhouse, and penitentiary in Europe would be emptied in our Territories. The Atlantic Ocean would be bridged, and swarms would pour across to enter

into this land, which is too good for southern slaveholders. The good would come no faster, and of the bad we have enough already. The old States lose their population fast enough as it is, and no one should desire to increase the depopulation. The true title of the bill, sir, should read: "A bill to encourage foreign and domestic vagabondism, by granting quarter sections of the public land to each actual vagabond that cannot pay twelve-and-a-half cents per acre for a home."

I would finally beg to say to these anti-slavery gentlemen, that for purposes of present advantage they take but a limited view of the future of this great question. A world in arms could not abolish slavery in the southern States to-day, or, if once abolished, a world in arms would rise up and demand its restoration to-morrow. Our slaves are this moment more firmly fixed in their bondage than at any previous moment in our history. Their labor has become an indispensable necessity, not only to ourselves, but to the civilized world; and statesmen, whether British or American, know it.

Our united people will defend it with their blood in the Union, and should your whole society, yielding to a mad fanaticism, so trespass upon our rights as to drive us from the Union, we would find ourselves able to defend it as an independent nation. In fact, we have all the capacities for a separate and independent existence that are calculated to make a great and prosperous State. We produce all the great items of raw material necessary for manufactures; the well-watered valleys of the mountain regions in Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and North Carolina present the most desirable seats for manufactories in the world.

The beautiful, healthful, and magnificent mountain region

of western Carolina, which I am proud to represent on this floor, presents greater facilities itself for manufacturing than all New England put together. The coalfields of my State would feed the glowing furnace for ages to come; and the fertile plains of the northwestern States do not furnish a finer region for the production of the common articles of food, than the great States of Kentucky, Tennessee, and North Carolina.

In fact, we combine everything within ourselves that is necessary for a separate and independent existence. Norfolk, which I believe is in any event destined to become a rival of New York and Liverpool, would then become the great port of entry for the south; and the opening up of the great regions of the west by the Southern Pacific Railroad, and the mingling of the waters of the Ohio with those of the Chesapeake Bay, by canal, would make her to rival the magnificence of Tyre and Sidon. In all these mutations, whilst we could flourish, your prosperity would be stricken down to the dust, and your dependence upon raw material would still hold you our obsequious dependent.

You talk now of forbearing to interfere with slavery among us, because of the delicacy of the question and the interest it involves to us; but you know that your own prosperity is still more dependent upon its existence. It is a tender regard for the goose that lays for you the golden egg, that makes you profess to be unwilling to lay hands upon it. You know that slave labor has built all your cities and towns, has erected your great warehouses, freights your rich navies, and carries wealth and happiness throughout all the bleak and sterile hills of New England.

You know that the shirt you wear, when you stand up to denounce the slaveholder; that the sugar that sweetens your

tea, when you sit down to the evening and morning meal — nay, the very paper on which you indite your senseless philippics against the south, are the products of slave labor. You not only thus grow rich upon what you call an iniquity, but you owe your positions in this Hall to the prejudice which you feed and pamper against slavery, and which alone constitutes your whole stock in trade.

Think not, therefore, that you can prevent the extension of slavery, or abolish it where it is. For should you succeed, as you threaten, in cooping us up and surrounding us by Wilmot provisoes, or by your homestead bills, in filling up the common Territories with northern and foreign squatters inimical to slavery, the time will come when the southern people, gathering up their households together, sword in hand, will force an outlet for it at the cannon's mouth.

Long years might intervene before this necessity came upon us, but come it certainly would, and we would then go forth and find other lands whose soil and climate were adapted to our institutions, from which you would not dare to attempt to expel us. But will you drive us to this course? Will the great conservative masses of the northern people, who are inheritors with us alike of the common glories of the past, and heirs-apparent of the unspeakable glories of our future, continue to urge this dire extremity upon their southern brethren?

Or will they not rather "be still, and behold how God will bring it to pass?" Will they not wait with patience for this great and all-absorbing problem to work itself out according to the immutable laws of climate, soil, and all the governing circumstances with which he has ever controlled the uprisings and the down-sittings of men?

In this way, and this only, as the waters of the great sea

purify themselves, will the good of both the African slave and his European master be accomplished; without violence, without bloodshed, and without a disruption of the bonds which bind together this blood-bought and blood-cemented Union, which our fathers founded in the agony of the greatest of human struggles, and builded with prayers to Heaven for its perpetuity.

This way alone will enable us to avoid that dread day of disunion, of which I have thought in the bitterness of my spirit that I could curse it even as Job cursed his nativity: "Let that day be darkness; let not God regard it from above, neither let the light shine upon it. Let it not be joined unto the days of the year; let it not come into the number of the months. Let the stars of the twilight thereof be dark; let it look for light, but have none; neither let it see the dawning of the day."

SENATOR TELLER

HENRY MOORE TELLER, LL. D., United States senator and lawyer, was born at Granger, Alleghany Co., N. Y., May 23, 1830. After graduating from Rushford Academy and Alfred University, and teaching for a few years, he was admitted to the Bar in 1856, practicing first in Illinois and afterwards in Colorado. He was a major-general of the Colorado militia during the closing years of the Civil War, and in December, 1876, became United States Senator. From April, 1882, until March, 1885, during President Arthur's administration, he was Secretary of the Interior, resigning to take his seat again in the Senate. In 1897, he was reëlected as an Independent Silver Republican for a term which expires in March, 1903.

ON PORTO RICO

[Speech delivered in the Senate, March 14, 1900, during the consideration of the bill temporarily to provide revenues for the relief of Porto Rico.]

MR. PRESIDENT,— Before we get through with this question of the power of the United States and what ought to be its policy there will be ample time, I know, for me to discuss it, and I will go directly to the bill, so that I may shorten my remarks within a proper time, in view of the fact that the senator from Washington has yielded the floor to me for a few moments.

In dealing with these new possessions my theory is that we may make them a part of the United States if we see fit. Now, if we conclude that we do not want to make them a part of the United States, I believe we have the same power to hold them, in a different relation, that Great Britain has. I have listened to all the discussion that has gone on here, and I can conceive of no reason why the sovereignty of the United States is limited to territory that they must make a part of the United States. They will be a part of the United States

in one sense undoubtedly if we exercise a protectorate over them. They will be a dependency, and they will have a different relation to us from what the other Territories organized as incipient States have. If we choose, we can provide that the territory of Puerto Rico — I am speaking now of the geographical territory — shall be under the control and sovereignty of the United States, that the people of that island may make all the laws that we say they may make. We may give them absolute self-control, or, in my opinion, we may reserve the right to say to them, "There are certain things you cannot be allowed to do; and if you do certain things, we will intervene and nullify your action."

Mr. President, from my standpoint, then, there is no difficulty in dealing with these possessions, and it becomes simply a question of policy. In this I am speaking for myself only. I do not represent any political organization, and I am not bound by any caucus or by any influences of that character. So far as I am concerned, I do not want to make Puerto Rico nor do I want to make the Philippines an integral part of the United States; I do not want to make their people citizens of the United States, with all the rights that citizenship of the United States ought to carry with it.

The relation that I would establish for those people is absolutely consistent with every tradition of our government and our people from the time we organized the government of the United States up to the present hour. If I had time, I could show historically that the fathers of this Republic contemplated that we should some day have colonies. It may be that it is not good policy to have colonies. That is another question. It may be — although I do not believe it — that it would be wise for us to get rid of Puerto Rico and return it to Spain, or to give it to the people of the island themselves.

It may be that it would be wise for us to turn over the Philippine Islands to the anarchy and confusion which I believe would follow the withdrawal of the American troops from those islands at the present time. But I do not believe it.

I will admit that there will be some difficulties in dealing with those people. I foresaw that in the beginning, and I see it more clearly now than I did a year ago, as I believe everybody else does. But, as I said a long time since in this body, the American people will deal with this question in a spirit of fairness and in a spirit of courage. They are not going to be frightened by a contemplation of the fact that there are difficulties in front of them. If anybody can show a better way out of the difficulty than for us to hold those possessions, I am prepared to consider it. I am now considering, first, what is the duty that we owe, not to the Filipinos, not to the Puerto Ricans, but to the people of the United States? That is the paramount question. I believe we can deal with those people without doing any injustice to them or any injustice to ourselves. But we must have a policy; we must lay down a rule and follow it. What I complain of in the party in power is that it has not a policy, as it seems to me, on this question.

I do not know whether we are to have a colonial system or whether we are to make those people part and parcel of the United States. One or the other we must do. I regard the latter as infinitely more dangerous than the former. I would a great deal rather make Puerto Rico a colony than to make her a State; I would a great deal rather make the Philippine Islands a colony, a province, a dependency, or whatever you may choose to call it, than to make those islands into a State or to make their inhabitants citizens of the United States, with all the rights and privileges which follow, and which

must ultimately mean, if they become citizens of the United States, that they shall stand before the law on an equality with all other citizens of the United States. If you make Puerto Rico a Territory, an incipient State, its people will have a right some day to expect to become a State of the Union; but if you hold them in tutelage and pupilage for an indefinite period as citizens of the United States, they will have a right to complain.

Mr. President, Puerto Rico is not a part of the United States to-day, neither are the Philippine Islands. In all the acquisitions of territorial property heretofore, we have had, before we acquired it, some relations established by treaty, or otherwise, with the people that we took under our control. When we took in Louisiana, we stipulated with France that we would make the people of that Territory citizens of the United States, entitled to all the rights, privileges, and immunities of citizens; when we took in Florida, we did the same with Spain; when we took in a portion of Mexico, we did the same with Mexico; and when we took in Alaska, we did the same with Russia. When we acquired our new possessions, the commission that went over to Paris very wisely said that their political status should be as Congress should determine.

In an early day, when Louisiana was taken in as a part of the United States, it was questioned in the House of Representatives, and even here, whether by the treaty-making power alone that could be done. In my judgment it could, because otherwise there would be a restriction upon the treaty-making power, which I think would be inconsistent with sovereignty. But here we have no question. The people in these possessions are not citizens to-day. The Filipinos are not citizens nor are the Puerto Ricans. The bill now pending

before the Senate makes citizens of the inhabitants of Puerto Rico of the United States *ex industria*. That feature alone, if there were no other in it, would compel me to vote against the bill. I do not want those people made citizens of the United States. I want to extend to them all the privileges which are consistent with their relations to this government, save that of citizenship. I would extend to those territories all the privileges, all the blessings which the constitution of the United States is, by some, supposed to have conferred, but which I say are not conferred, but inherited, inhering in a free government. I would not establish a relationship which would enable them to participate with us in the election of a President and to have their representatives on this floor or in the other House.

I am told by some senators here that this bill does make citizens of the people of Puerto Rico, but does not make Puerto Rico a part and parcel of the United States. If it is possible by language in a statute to make Puerto Rico a part of the United States, it is so made by this bill. In the first place, the people there are made citizens, their ports are made ports of the United States, and the writs of their courts run in the name of the people of the United States; we extend the internal revenue laws over them, the postal laws, and almost all other laws over them, except simply the laws as to the collection of duty on imports. We provide that their products coming into our ports shall pay duty.

Mr. President, if those people are to be a part and parcel of the United States, as they will be if this bill shall be enacted into law as it now stands, and as they will be if a considerable part of it should be stricken out, as I hear vague rumors that it may be, they will have such a relation, in my judgment, to the people of the United States that some of the

provisions of this act will be absolutely indefensible and cannot be maintained in any case.

Mr. President, I am not going to waste time in speaking about the provision which puts a duty upon goods going into Puerto Rico. I think that was pretty well exploded here the other day, and I understand that it is liable to be abandoned. But the other question presents itself whether we have a right to put a duty on goods coming from Puerto Rico into the United States. In my judgment that whole question must be solved by what is their relation to the people of the United States. If they are a part of the United States, if their people are citizens of the United States, you have no right to put a duty upon their goods. If they are not citizens of the United States, then it is a question of policy and not a question of justice; but what right have the Puerto Ricans to insist now that they shall have free trade with us if they are not part and parcel of the United States?

Mr. President, we are told that there is a great sugar interest and a great tobacco interest, or something of that kind, demanding that this duty shall be put on those people. I know nothing about that, and I do not care to consider it. It is not a question to be considered in determining this matter as to what influences are back of it. The question is, what is justice? If they are citizens, as they will be under this bill, you have not any right to impose duties upon them, and it would be an act of gross injustice and one which cannot be legally maintained. If they are not citizens, you have as much right to put a duty upon them as you have to put it on English subjects who send their goods here from London.

A great number of people now in Puerto Rico who are clamoring for free trade with us are not citizens of that country at all, and the large sugar interests there are held by people

who are not connected by any ties of citizenship with that country. English capitalists and other foreign capitalists are the owners of the sugar plantations. If we should accept the newspaper accounts we might suppose that every man in Puerto Rico, poverty-stricken as many of them are, was engaged in shipping sugar and tobacco into the United States. There is not two per cent of the people of Puerto Rico who have any interest in shipping sugar here, and there is not two per cent of them who have any interest in shipping tobacco here. That is done by a few capitalists, and it is those who are interested in this subject. If you let them bring their sugar here at fifteen per cent of the regular tariff which the Cubans, for instance, must pay, the sugar and tobacco planters of Puerto Rico will make a great profit; and, with a two-years' accumulation of sugar in the hands of those rich people, they will be the ones who will be still more enriched and not the poverty-stricken people of that island. As suggested to me by the senator from Wisconsin [Mr. Spooner], the sugar people pay labor such wages as Americans would starve upon.

The great question to be considered all the time is, How can we treat these islands consistently with the traditions of the American people? How can we do justice to them and justice to ourselves at the same time? If we give to them practically self-government, they have no right to ask us for participation in the affairs of the general government; and anything that we may do for them, bad as this bill is — and I think it violates some of our traditions as it is — but, bad as it is, is it not better than anything that those people ever heretofore had or anything that they had any hope of having two years ago?

If we keep steadily in view the idea that if these people are capable of self-government, they shall have it — and I

have no doubt of their ability to manage their own internal and domestic affairs practically without our supervision, although some senators say that is not the fact — if we yield that to them, we have not violated any principle of free government and of a free people; and all of this repeated newspaper clamor that we are about to do something extremely bad if we deny to those people full citizenship, it seems to me, is without any foundation whatever.

Mr. President, I had intended, as I said before, to go into very many phases of this case, and to touch upon even our relations with our Asiatic possessions; but I shall not do so now. I shall content myself with saying practically now what I have said — that this bill seems to me to be incongruous and unsatisfactory from any standpoint; I do not care whether it be from that of making Puerto Rico a part of the United States or making it a colony.

JAMES PROCTOR KNOTT

JAMES PROCTOR KNOTT, LL.D., American Democratic congressman and lawyer, was born at Lebanon, Ky., Aug. 29, 1830. He early began to study law and removing in 1850 to Memphis, Mo., was licensed to practice there in the following year. In 1858, he entered the State legislature and was made chairman of the judiciary committee. He became attorney-general of the State soon after, but refusing to take the test oath in 1861, regarding it as too stringent in its character, his office was declared vacant and he was disbarred. In 1862, he returned to his birthplace in Kentucky, where he practiced his profession till his election to Congress in 1866. After some adverse discussion, he was permitted to take his seat in the House, where his first speech was directed against the constitutionality of the test oath and its application to members of Congress. He was reëlected in 1868 and served on various committees, making on one occasion a humorous speech against a bill for the improvement of Pennsylvania Avenue, which defeated the bill amid much laughter. In the same Congress, his famous "Duluth" speech gave him a national reputation as a humorist. Knott was again a member of Congress, 1875–83, and was Governor of Kentucky from 1883 to 1887. Since 1894, he has been professor of law and dean of the law faculty in Centre College, Ky.

SPEECH ON "DULUTH"

DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, JANUARY 21, 1871

MR. SPEAKER,—If I could be actuated by any conceivable inducement to betray the sacred trust reposed in me by those to whose generous confidence I am indebted for the honor of a seat on this floor; if I could be influenced by any possible consideration to become instrumental in giving away, in violation of their known wishes, any portion of their interest in the public domain, for the mere promotion of any railroad enterprise whatever, I should certainly feel a strong inclination to give this measure my most earnest and hearty support; for I am assured that its success would materially enhance the pecuniary prosperity of some of the most valued friends I have on earth; friends

for whose accommodation I would be willing to make almost any sacrifice not involving my personal honor or my fidelity as the trustee of an express trust.

And that act of itself would be sufficient to countervail almost any objection I might entertain to the passage of this bill, not inspired by the imperative and inexorable sense of public duty.

But, independent of the seductive influences of private friendship, to which I admit I am, perhaps, as susceptible as any of the gentlemen I see around me, the intrinsic merits of the measure itself are of such an extraordinary character as to commend it most strongly to the favorable consideration of every member of this House, myself not excepted, notwithstanding my constituents, in whose behalf alone I am acting here, would not be benefited by its passage one particle more than they would be by a project to cultivate an orange grove on the bleakest summit of Greenland's icy mountains.

Now, sir, as to those great trunk lines of railways, spanning the continent from ocean to ocean, I confess my mind has never been fully made up. It is true they may afford some trifling advantages to local traffic, and they may even in time become the channels of a more extended commerce. Yet I have never been thoroughly satisfied either of the necessity or expediency of projects promising such meagre results to the great body of our people. But with regard to the transcendent merits of the gigantic enterprise contemplated in this bill, I have never entertained the shadow of a doubt

Years ago, when I first heard that there was somewhere in the vast *terra incognita*, somewhere in the bleak regions of the great northwest, a stream of water known to the nomadic inhabitants of the neighborhood as the river St. Croix, I be-

came satisfied that the construction of a railroad from that raging torrent to some point in the civilized world was essential to the happiness and prosperity of the American people, if not absolutely indispensable to the perpetuity of republican institutions on this continent.

I felt, instinctively, that the boundless resources of that prolific region of sand and pine shrubbery would never be fully developed without a railroad constructed and equipped at the expense of the government, and perhaps not then. I had an abiding presentiment that, some day or other, the people of this whole country, irrespective of party affiliations, regardless of sectional prejudices, and "without distinction of race, color, or previous condition of servitude," would rise in their majesty and demand an outlet for the enormous agricultural productions of those vast and fertile pine barrens, drained in the rainy season by the surging waters of the turbid St. Croix.

These impressions, derived simply and solely from the "eternal fitness of things," were not only strengthened by the interesting and eloquent debate on this bill, to which I listened with so much pleasure the other day, but intensified, if possible, as I read over, this morning, the lively colloquy which took place on that occasion, as I find it reported in last Friday's "Globe." I will ask the indulgence of the House while I read a few short passages, which are sufficient, in my judgment, to place the merits of the great enterprise, contemplated in the measure now under discussion, beyond all possible controversy.

The honorable gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Wilson] who, I believe, is managing this bill, in speaking of the character of the country through which this railroad is to pass, says this:

"We want to have the timber brought to us as cheaply as possible. Now, if you tie up the lands in this way, so that no title can be obtained to them — for no settler will go on these lands, for he cannot make a living — you deprive us of the benefits of that timber."

Now, sir, I would not have it by any means inferred from this that the gentleman from Minnesota would insinuate that the people out in this section desire this timber merely for the purpose of fencing up their farms so that their stock may not wander off and die of starvation among the bleak hills of St. Croix. I read it for no such purpose, sir, and make no comment on it myself. In corroboration of this statement of the gentleman from Minnesota, I find this testimony given by the honorable gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Washburn]. Speaking of these same lands, he says:

"Under the bill, as amended by my friend from Minnesota, nine tenths of the land is open to actual settlers at $2.50 per acre; the remaining one tenth is pine-timbered land, that is not fit for settlement, and never will be settled upon; but the timber will be cut off. I admit that it is the most valuable portion of the grant, for most of the grant is not valuable. It is quite valueless; and if you put in this amendment of the gentleman from Indiana you may just as well kill the bill, for no man, and no company will take the grant and build the road."

I simply pause here to ask some gentleman better versed in the science of mathematics than I am, to tell me if the timbered lands are in fact the most valuable portion of that section of the country, and they would be entirely valueless without the timber that is on them, what the remainder of the land is worth which has no timber on them at all?

But, further on, I find a most entertaining and instructive interchange of views between the gentleman from Arkansas

[Mr. Rogers], the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Washburn], and the gentleman from Maine [Mr. Peters], upon the subject of pine lands generally, which I will tax the patience of the House to read:

"Mr. Rogers — Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question?"

"Mr. Washburn — Certainly."

"Mr. Rogers — Are these pine lands entirely worthless except for timber?"

"Mr. Washburn — They are generally worthless for any other purpose. I am personally familiar with that subject. These lands are not valuable for purposes of settlement."

"Mr. Farnsworth — They will be after the timber is taken off."

"Mr. Washburn — No, sir."

"Mr. Rogers — I want to know the character of these pine lands."

"Mr. Washburn — They are generally sandy, barren lands. My friend from the Green Bay district [Mr. Sawyer] is himself perfectly familiar with this question, and he will bear me out in what I say, that these timber lands are not adapted to settlement."

"Mr. Rogers — The pine lands to which I am accustomed are generally very good. What I want to know is, what is the difference between our pine lands and your pine lands?"

"Mr. Washburn — The pine timber of Wisconsin generally grows upon barren, sandy land. The gentleman from Maine [Mr. Peters] who is familiar with pine lands, will, I have no doubt, say that pine timber grows generally upon the most barren lands."

"Mr. Peters — As a general thing pine lands are not worth much for cultivation."

And further on I find this pregnant question, the joint production of the two gentlemen from Wisconsin.

"Mr. Paine — Does my friend from Indiana suppose that in any event settlers will occupy and cultivate these pine lands?"

"Mr. Washburn — Particularly without a railroad. Yes, sir, particularly without a railroad."

It will be asked after awhile, I am afraid, if settlers will go anywhere unless the government builds a railroad for them to go on.

I desire to call attention to only one more statement, which I think sufficient to settle the question. It is one made by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Paine] who says:

"These lands will be abandoned for the present. It may be that at some remote period there will spring up in that region a new kind of agriculture, which will cause a demand for these particular lands; and they may then come into use and be valuable for agricultural purposes. But I know, and I cannot help thinking, that my friend from Indiana understands that, for the present, and for many years to come, these pine lands can have no possible value other than that arising from the pine timber which stands on them."

Now, sir, after listening to this emphatic and unequivocal testimony of these intelligent, competent, and able-bodied witnesses, who that is not as incredulous as St. Thomas himself will doubt for a moment that the Goshen of America is to be found in the sandy valleys and upon the pine-clad hills of the St. Croix? Who will have the hardihood to rise in his seat on this floor and assert that, excepting the pine bushes, the entire region would not produce vegetation enough in ten years to fatten a grasshopper? Where is the patriot who is willing that his country shall incur the peril of remaining another day without the amplest railroad connection with such an inexhaustible mine of agricultural wealth? Who will answer for the consequences of abandoning a great and warlike people, in the possession of a country like that, to brood over the indifference and neglect of their

government? How long would it be before they would take to studying the Declaration of Independence, and hatching out the damnable heresy of secession? How long before the grim demon of civil discord would rear again his horrid head in our midst, "gnash loud his iron fangs and shake his crest of bristling bayonets?"

Then, sir, think of the long and painful process of reconstruction that must follow, with its concomitant amendments to the constitution, the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth articles. The sixteenth, it is of course understood, is to be appropriated to those blushing damsels who are, day after day, beseeching us to let them vote, hold office, drink cocktails, ride a-straddle, and do everything else the men do. But, above all, sir, let me implore you to reflect for a single moment on the deplorable condition of our country in case of a foreign war, with all our ports blockaded, all our cities in a state of siege, the gaunt spectre of famine brooding like a hungry vulture over our starving land; our commissary stores all exhausted, and our famishing armies withering away in the field, a helpless prey to the insatiate demon of hunger; our navy rotting in the docks for want of provisions for our gallant seamen, and we without any railroad communication whatever with the prolific pine thickets of the St. Croix.

Ah, sir, I could very well understand why my amiable friends from Pennsylvania [Mr. Myers, Mr. Kelley, and Mr. O'Neill] should be so earnest in their support of this bill the other day; and, if their honorable colleague, my friend, Mr. Randall, will pardon the remark, I will say that I consider his criticism of their action on that occasion as not only unjust, but ungenerous. I knew they were looking forward with the far-reaching ken of enlightened statesmanship to the

pitiable condition in which Philadelphia will be left unless speedily supplied with railroad connection in some way or other with this garden spot of the universe.

And besides, sir, this discussion has relieved my mind of a mystery that has weighed upon it like an incubus for years. I could never understand before why there was so much excitement during the last Congress over the acquisition of Alta Vela. I could never understand why it was that some of our ablest statesmen and most disinterested patriots should entertain such dark forebodings of the untold calamities that were to befall our beloved country unless we should take immediate possession of that desirable island. But I see now that they were laboring under the mistaken impression that the government would need the guano to manure the public lands on the St. Croix.

Now, sir, I repeat, I have been satisfied for years that, if there was any portion of the inhabited globe absolutely in a suffering condition for want of a railroad it was these teeming pine barrens of the St. Croix. At what particular point on that noble stream such a road should be commenced I knew was immaterial, and it seems so to have been considered by the draughtsman of this bill.

It might be up at the spring or down at the foot-log, or the water-gate, or the fish-dam, or anywhere along the bank, no matter where. But, in what direction should it run, or where it should terminate, were always to my mind questions of the most painful perplexity. I could conceive of no place on "God's green earth" in such straitened circumstances for railroad facilities as to be likely to desire or willing to accept such a connection.

I knew that neither Bayfield nor Superior City would have it, for they both indignantly spurned the munificence of the

government when coupled with such ignominous conditions, and let this very same land grant die on their hands years and years ago, rather than submit to the degradation of a direct communication by railroad with the piney woods of the St. Croix; and I knew that what the enterprising inhabitants of those giant young cities would refuse to take, would have few charms for others, whatever their necessities or cupidity might be.

Hence, as I have said, sir, I was utterly at a loss to determine where the terminus of this great and indispensable road should be, until I accidentally overheard some gentleman the other day mention the name of "Duluth."

"Duluth!" The word fell upon my ear with a peculiar and indescribable charm, like the gentle murmur of a low fountain stealing forth in the midst of roses; or the soft, sweet accents of an angel's whisper in the bright joyous dream of sleeping innocence.

"Duluth!" 'Twas the name for which my soul had panted for years, as the hart panteth for the water-brooks.

But where was "Duluth?"

Never in all my limited reading, had my vision been gladdened by seeing the celestial word in print. And I felt a profound humiliation in my ignorance that its dulcet syllables had never before ravished my delighted ear. I was certain the draughtsman in this bill had never heard of it, or it would have been designated as one of the termini of this road. I asked my friends about it, but they knew nothing of it. I rushed to the library, and examined all the maps I could find. I discovered in one of them a delicate hair-like line, diverging from the Mississippi near a place marked Prescott, which, I supposed, was intended to represent the river St. Croix but could nowhere find "Duluth."

Nevertheless, I was confident it existed somewhere, and that its discovery would constitute the crowning glory of the present century, if not of all modern times. I knew it was bound to exist in the very nature of things; that the symmetry and perfection of our planetary system would be incomplete without it. That the elements of maternal nature would since have resolved themselves back into original chaos, if there had been such a hiatus in creation as would have resulted from leaving out "Duluth!"

In fact, sir, I was overwhelmed with the conviction that "Duluth" not only existed somewhere, but that wherever it was it was a great and glorious place. I was convinced that the greatest calamity that ever befell the benighted nations of the ancient world was in their having passed away without a knowledge of the actual existence of "Duluth;" that their fabled Atlantis, never seen save by the hallowed vision of the inspired poesy, was in fact but another name for "Duluth;" that the golden orchard of the Hesperides was but a poetical synonym for the beer-gardens in the vicinity of "Duluth." I was certain that Herodotus had died a miserable death, because in all his travels and with all his geographical research he had never heard of "Duluth."

I knew that if the immortal spirit of Homer could look down from another heaven than that created by his own celestial genius upon the long lines of Pilgrims from every nation of the earth, to the gushing fountain of poesy, opened by the touch of his magic wand, if he could be permitted to behold the vast assemblage of grand and glorious productions of the lyric art, called into being by his own inspired strains, he would weep tears of bitter anguish, that, instead of lavishing all the stores of his mighty genius upon the fall of Ilion,

it had not been his more blessed lot to crystallize in deathless song the rising glories of "Duluth."

Yes, sir, had it not been for this map, kindly furnished me by the legislature of Minnesota, I might have gone down to my obscure and humble grave in an agony of despair, because I could nowhere find "Duluth." Had such been my melancholy fate, I have no doubt that with the last feeble pulsation of my breaking heart, with the last faint exhalation of my fleeting breath, I should have whispered, "Where is 'Duluth'?"

But, thanks to the beneficence of that band of ministering angels who have their bright abodes in the far-off capitol of Minnesota, just as the agony of my anxiety was about to culminate in the frenzy of despair, this blessed map was placed in my hands; and, as I unfolded it, a resplendent scene of ineffable glory opened before me, such as I imagined burst upon the enraptured vision of the wandering peri through the opening gates of Paradise.

There, there, for the first time, my enchanted eye rested upon the ravishing word, "Duluth!" This map, sir, is intended, as it appears from its title, to illustrate the position of "Duluth" in the United States; but if the gentlemen will examine it I think they will concur with me in the opinion that it is far too modest in its pretensions. It not only illustrates the position of "Duluth" in the United States, but exhibits its relations with all created things. It even goes further than this. It hits the shadowy vale of futurity, and affords us a view of the golden prospects of "Duluth," far along the dim vista of ages yet to come.

If the gentlemen will examine it they will find "Duluth" not only in the centre of the map but represented in the centre of a series of concentric circles one hundred miles

apart and some of them as much as four thousand miles in diameter, embracing alike in their tremendous sweep the fragrant savannas, the sunlit south, and the eternal solitudes of snow that mantle the icebound north. How these circles were produced is perhaps one of those primordial mysteries that the most skilled paleologist will never be able to explain. But the fact is, sir, "Duluth" is pre-eminently a central point, for I am told by gentlemen who have been so reckless of their own personal safety as to venture away into those awful regions where "Duluth" is supposed to be, that it is so exactly in the centre of the visible universe that the sky comes down at precisely the same distance all around it.

I find by reference to this map that "Duluth" is situated somewhere near the western end of Lake Superior, but as there is no dot or other mark indicating its exact location I am unable to say whether it is actually confined to any particular spot or whether "it is just lying around there loose."

I really cannot tell whether it is one of those ethereal creations of intellectual frostwork, more intangible than the rose-tinted clouds of a summer sunset; one of those airy exhalations of the speculator's brain which, I am told, are very fitting in the form of towns and cities along those lines of railroad, built with government subsidies, luring the unwary settler, as the mirage of the desert lures the famishing traveller on, until it fades away in the darkening horizon; or whether it is real *bona fide*, substantial city, all "staked off," with the lots marked with their owners' names, like that proud commercial metropolis recently discovered on the desirable shores of San Domingo. But however that may be I am satisfied "Duluth" is there, or thereabouts, for I see it stated here on the map that it is exactly thirty-nine hundred

and ninety miles from Liverpool, though I have no doubt, for the sake of convenience, it will be moved back ten miles, so as to make the distance an even four thousand.

Then, sir, there is the climate of "Duluth," unquestionably the most salubrious and delightful to be found anywhere on the Lord's earth. Now I have always been under the impression, as I presume other gentlemen have, that in the region around Lake Superior it was cold enough for at least nine months of the year to freeze the smokestack off a locomotive.

But I see it represented on this map that "Duluth" is situated exactly half way between the latitudes of Paris and Venice, so that gentlemen who have inhaled the exhilarating air of the one or basked in the golden sunlight of the other may see at a glance that "Duluth" must be the place of untold delight, a terrestrial paradise, fanned by the balmy zephyrs of an eternal spring, clothed in the gorgeous sheen of ever-blooming flowers and vocal with the silvery melody of nature's choicest songsters.

In fact, sir, since I have seen this map I have no doubt that Byron was vainly endeavoring to convey some faint conception of the delicious charms of "Duluth" when his poetic soul gushed forth in the rippling strains of that beautiful rhapsody—

> "Know ye the land of the cedar and the vine,
> Whence the flowers ever blossom, the beams ever shine;
> Where the light wings of Zephyr, oppressed with perfume,
> Wax faint o'er the gardens of Gaul in her bloom;
> Where the citron and olive are fairest of fruit,
> And the voice of the nightingale never is mute;
> Where the tints of the earth and the hues of the sky,
> In color though varied, in beauty may vie?"

As to the commercial resources of "Duluth," sir, they are simply illimitable and inexhaustible, as is shown by this map.

I see it stated here that there is a vast scope of territory, embracing an area of over two millions of square miles, rich in every element of material wealth and commercial prosperity, all tributary to "Duluth."

Look at it, sir [pointing to the map]. Here are inexhaustible mines of gold, immeasurable veins of silver, impenetrable depths of boundless forest, vast coal measures, wide-extended plains of richest pasturage—all, all embraced in this vast territory—which must, in the very nature of things, empty the untold treasures of its commerce into the lap of "Duluth."

Look at it, sir [pointing to the map]; do you not see from these broad, brown lines drawn around this immense territory that the enterprising inhabitants of "Duluth" intend some day to inclose it all in one vast corral, so that its commerce will be bound to go there whether it would or not? And here, sir [still pointing to the map], I find within a convenient distance the Piegan Indians, which, of all the many accessories to the glory of "Duluth," I consider by far the most inestimable. For, sir, I have been told that when the smallpox breaks out among the women and children of the famous tribe, as it sometimes does, they afford the finest subjects in the world for the strategical experiments of any enterprising military hero who desires to improve himself in the noble art of war, especially for any valiant lieutenant-general whose

> "Trenchant blade, Toledo trusty,
> For want of fighting has grown rusty,
> And eats into itself for lack
> Of somebody to hew and hack."

Sir, the great conflict now raging in the Old World has presented a phenomenon of military science unprecedented in the annals of mankind, a phenomenon that has reversed all the traditions of the past, as it has disappointed all the ex-

pectations of the present. A great and warlike people, renowned alike for their skill and valor, have been swept away before the triumphant advance of an inferior foe like autumn stubble before a hurricane of fire.

For aught I know the next flash of electric fire that simmers along the ocean cable may tell us that Paris, with every fiber quivering with the agony of impotent despair, writhes beneath the conquering heel of her loathed invader. Ere another moon shall wax and wane the brightest star in the galaxy of nations may fall from the zenith of her glory never to rise again. Ere the modest violets of early spring shall ope their beauteous eyes the genius of civilization may chant the wailing requiem of the proudest nationality the world has ever seen, as she scatters her withered and tear-moistened lilies o'er the bloody tomb of butchered France.

But, sir, I wish to ask if you honestly and candidly believe that the Dutch would have overrun the French in that kind of style if General Sheridan had not gone over there and told King William and Von Moltke how he had managed to whip the Piegan Indians?

And here, sir, recurring to this map, I find in the immediate vicinity of the Piegans "vast herds of buffalo" and "immense fields of rich wheat lands."

[Here the hammer fell. Many cries, "Go on! Go on!" The Speaker—Is there any objection to the gentleman from Kentucky continuing his remarks? The chair hears none. The gentleman will proceed. Mr. Knott continued:]

I was remarking, sir, upon these vast "wheat fields" represented on this map, in the immediate neighborhood of the buffaloes and Piegans, and was about to say that the idea of there being these immense wheat fields in the very heart of a wilderness, hundreds and hundreds of miles beyond the ut-

most verge of civilization, may appear to some gentlemen as rather incongruous, as rather too great a strain on the " blankets " of veracity.

But to my mind there is no difficulty in the matter whatever. The phenomenon is very easily accounted for. It is evident, sir, that the Piegans sowed that wheat there and plowed it in with buffalo bulls. Now, sir, this fortunate combination of buffaloes and Piegans, considering their relative positions to each other and to " Duluth," as they are arranged on this map, satisfies me that " Duluth " is destined to be the best market of the world. Here, you will observe [pointing to the map], are the buffaloes, directly between the Piegans and " Duluth;" and here, right on the road to " Duluth," are the Creeks. Now, sir, when the buffaloes are sufficiently fat from grazing on those immense wheat fields, you see it will be the easiest thing in the world for the Piegans to drive them on down, stay all night with their friends, the Creeks, and go into " Duluth " in the morning.

I think I see them now, sir, a vast herd of buffaloes, with their heads down, their eyes glaring, their nostrils dilated, their tongues out, and their tails curled over their backs, tearing along toward " Duluth," with about a thousand Piegans on their grass-bellied ponies yelling at their heels! On they come! And as they sweep past the Creeks they join in the chase, and away they all go, yelling, bellowing, ripping and tearing along amid clouds of dust until the last buffalo is safely penned in the stockyards at " Duluth."

Sir, I might stand here for hours and hours and expatiate with rapture upon the gorgeous prospects of " Duluth," as depicted upon this map. But human life is too short and the time of this House far too valuable to allow me to linger longer upon this delightful theme. I think every gentle-

man upon this floor is as well satisfied as I am that "Duluth" is destined to become the commercial metropolis of the universe, and that this road should be built at once. I am fully persuaded that no patriotic representative of the American people, who has a proper appreciation of the associated glories of "Duluth" and the St. Croix, will hesitate a moment, that every able-bodied female in the land, between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, who is in favor of "woman's rights," should be drafted and set to work upon this great work without delay. Nevertheless, sir, it grieves my very soul to be compelled to say that I cannot vote for the grant of lands provided for in this bill.

Ah, sir, you can have no conception of the poignancy of my anguish that I am deprived of that blessed privilege! There are two insuperable obstacles in the way. In the first place my constituents, for whom I am acting here, have no more interest in this road than they have in the great question of culinary taste now, perhaps, agitating the public mind of Dominica, as to whether the illustrious commissioners, who recently left this capital for that free and enlightened republic, would be better fricasseed, boiled or roasted, and, in the second place, these lands, which I am asked to give away, alas, are not mine to bestow! My relation to them is simply that of trustee to an express trust! And shall I ever betray that trust? Never, sir! Rather perish "Duluth!" Perish the paragon of cities! Rather let the freezing cyclones of the bleak northwest bury it forever beneath the eddying sands of the raging St. Croix.

PRESIDENT DIAZ

PORFIRIO DIAZ, a distinguished Mexican general and statesman, President (for the sixth term) of the Mexican Republic, was born at Oaxaca, Sept. 15, 1830. He was educated at the Institute of the State of Oaxaca, and after planning to study law, he abandoned it to enter the national guards when the American army invaded Mexico. In 1854, he engaged in the rebellion against Santa Anna, and for the following two decades was active in the numerous revolts and insurrections against the successive governments of Mexico. He attained the rank of general in 1861, and in 1863 took part in the defence of Puebla against the French. Upon its surrender, Diaz effected his escape from imprisonment within the French lines and took command of the Mexican army. In spite of many difficulties and reverses, he maintained the Republican cause throughout the period of French rule under Maximilian, which was brought to an end by Diaz's capture of Puebla (April 21, 1867), and by that of the City of Mexico two months later. In October of the latter year Diaz was an unsuccessful candidate for the Presidency against Juarez, and for the following nine years was usually in opposition to the government. He headed the revolt against the administration of President Lerdo in 1876, putting Lerdo's forces to rout in several engagements. In 1877, he was elected President for four years, but his administration was an unquiet one and he was chiefly occupied in putting down revolts. He secured the election of General Gonzalez as his successor in 1880, and on the expiration of Gonzalez's term of office, in 1884, Diaz was elected President a second time. Through successive reëlections he has continued in office as head of the Mexican Republic until the present (1902). He is popular throughout Mexico, and in his administration of affairs has exhibited firmness, as well as wisdom and executive ability. Under his administration the trade and manufactures of the Republic have been greatly augmented, education has been fostered, the resources of the country have been developed, and railroads and telegraphs have been extended. The annual income of Mexico is to-day about sixty-five million dollars, and its expenditure is under sixty million.

PEACE ROOTED IN THE HEARTS OF ALL

SPEECH DELIVERED AT A BANQUET GIVEN IN HIS HONOR, DECEMBER 1, 1900

GENTLEMEN,—In responding to my distinguished and good friends, Governor Obregón and the honorable deputy Chavero, I begin with manifesting to them and to their respective constituents, in whose name they have honored me, my profound gratitude for the deli-

PORFIRIO DIAZ

cate and kindly expressions with which their eloquence enlarges upon the services rendered to the country by the personal direction of the administration over which I have the honor of presiding. If there may be any merit in the felicitous choice of its personnel, that would be mine.

The enthusiasm with which my fellow citizens celebrate the countersigning of my mandate honors me as amply as it does undeservedly, because, presuming that that enthusiasm signifies a vote of approval, it may be interpreted as a ratification of those which, in their legal capacity, they cast in my honor. I esteem their friendly manifestations at their full value, and I accept them with all the gratitude of which I am capable; but in so far as the eulogium lavished upon me declares me author of the peace that the Republic enjoys, notwithstanding that it bears the character of a delicate compliment inspired by the well wishes of my friends, I cannot excuse myself from subjecting it, with all respect, to an opportune rectification.

To restore peace to a people whose moral sense has been fed for more than a half century by frequent and sanguinary struggles of force against law, the action of one man does not suffice, whatever be his power and his prestige; it necessitates the positive and very vigilant labor of many men, armed with the powerful, intelligent, and enthusiastic will to harmonize the conformities and interests of society with the conformities and interests of all and each of its associates; and who are possessed with such abnegation that they can with serenity receive and pardon the most injurious and untruthful imputations while the masses are beginning to perceive that they are engaged in preparing a great benefaction.

The triumph of one of the parties is a propitious occasion to initiate a period of peace, if at the root of victory the

bustle of a general industrial activity makes itself felt, giving work to many thousands of men, bread to as many families, and which, in obedience to a well-meditated system of reproductive improvements, promises to capital a safe and immediate theatre for undertakings so lucrative as to provoke the eager influx of foreign investments.

In the contrary case, when the defeated recover from their stupor they associate themselves with the growing phalanx of the deceived to fan the embers of revolution; unscrupulously aided by the press that, from self-interest, thirsts for everything sensational, whether it be true or doubtful, or even false.

Our last war, in its closing stages, offered us in their order the successive pictures of this natural evolution.

In the first days of relative peace, out of regard to the state of the treasury it was not possible to undertake public works of importance; and, as was to be expected, there surged up a new revolution which the government was able to suppress with energy scarcely sufficient to be efficacious. From that time on, the dissidents adopted an attitude as hostile as the tolerance of the governing power, which was not slight, would permit, occupying themselves with criticising pitilessly all the acts of the government and more than once carrying their fervor to the point of calumny.

The disaster of that attempted revolution prolonged the period of expectation, and, although painfully, the government was enabled to formulate its first contracts for public works and credit, proceeding immediately to the extension of various railways and telegraph lines; and it dedicated itself fundamentally, and accepting all kinds of responsibilities, to the complete extinction of brigandage, which threatened to take possession of the entire territory of the nation.

As soon as commerce could count upon security on the highways and upon facile locomotion there began to be felt the activity of capital, its corresponding and well-merited profit, and the vigorous and growing influx of foreign money. A new perspective so grateful in the country, and a horizon clear of revolutionary prognostications, caused the dissidents —who until then had remained hostile to the government and to the shelter of the barrier which in itself it provided for them through its respect for the rights of others, began to pour torrents into the seductive arena of business, then and there and unreservedly affiliating themselves with the lovers of peace, leaving their fortunes in action as substantial guarantee of their good faith.

The government, now freed from the necessity of keeping on its guard which had been imposed upon it by the spectre of revolution, its confidence in the future invigorated, summoned to the work of public administration all the ex-revolutionists whose honor, ability, talents, and prestige gave assurance that they could serve their country. It is a pleasure for me to declare here that all who were called have loyally performed their labors.

The government having once felt itself supported by all Mexicans, without distinction of parties and with equal confidence in the patriotism of all, put into execution its so often dreamed-of program that is condensed in these words: "Little politics, much administration."

Eversince then the net of railways has been rapidly extended in all directions, and throughout the whole national territory has been spread the telegraphic system, with nocturnal service, reduced tariffs, and connected with the inter-continental cables; fiscal and banking laws, far-reaching, like that which liberated commerce from internal tariffs, have been promul-

gated; and with all its energies the government proceeded to construct ports, lighthouses, and other great protective works, hygienic and commercial, which for future generations will furnish as many evidences of the present civilization; it perfected the postal service, giving cheap and daily communication for all cities, towns, and villages in the Republic, with letters, parcels, and money orders, and with representation in the International Postal Union of the civilized world; and it normalized fiscal credit with great mercantile benefits.

I have here sketched in large strokes the real concurrent factors, not of peace directly, but certainly of the harmony of interests which, in consideration of welfare of self, unified the will of all citizens in favor of peace and created this grateful ambient medium, this general well-being, in which we live, which induces the promotion of festivals like the present, and which, in the ultimate result, is nothing else than the manifestation that all legitimate ambitions are either satisfied or are in the normal and certain way of so becoming.

And here I have likewise the demonstration of my proposition: That genuine peace, the peace that is rooted in the hearts of all, that which is substantial and fruitful, is not, nor cannot be, the work of one man, nor of many men, but of all the active members of the societies that have the fortune to enjoy it; sufficient is the honor to be one of these.

In giving thanks once more to my personal friends and to the honorable governors for the much that they have given me and honored me, I urge them to join with me in thanking also the honorable diplomatic corps for their presence at our table, and to drink with them to the peace and prosperity of the nations which they so worthily and so sagaciously represent, and to the personal happiness and long life of their august sovereigns

and worthy chiefs of state respectively; and to invite them to drink with us, because from our entrance upon the century whose gates we are touching, there stands pre-eminent at the head of all purposes of all Mexicans, that of making our country as great, as illustrious, and as rich as it is hospitable and sympathetic.

[Special translation by Sylvester Baxter.]

JUSTIN McCARTHY

JUSTIN McCARTHY, Irish political leader, journalist, novelist, and man of letters, was born at Cork, Nov. 22, 1830, and educated privately. He was a journalist in his native city, 1848–52, and in Liverpool, 1852–60. Proceeding to London he joined the staff of "The Morning Star," as foreign editor and parliamentary reporter, 1860–68, and during the next three years travelled and lectured in the United States and was for a time one of the editors of the New York "Independent." He returned to London in 1870 and joined the staff of the "Daily News," as a radical leader writer. In 1879, he entered Parliament and soon became a leader of the Home Rule party and after the fall of Parnell was chairman of the Irish parliamentarians. In 1886, he revisited the United States where he delivered a number of public addresses. He has achieved distinction both as an historian and a novelist. His novels have attained considerable popularity, and include "The Waterdale Neighbors," "Lady Judith," "A Fair Saxon," "Dear Lady Disdain," "Maid of Athens," "Red Diamonds," "Miss Misanthrope," and "Donna Quixote." His miscellaneous writings embrace: "Modern Leaders" (1872); "History of Ireland from the Union," "Epoch of Reform," "History of Our Own Times," his best-known work (1880); "History of the Four Georges" (1889); "Ireland's Cause in England's Parliament" (1888); "Life of Sir Robert Peel" (1891); "Life of Pope Leo XIII" (1896); "The Story of Mr. Gladstone's Life" (1898); "Modern England" (1898); "Reminiscences" (1899); "The Story of the People of England in the Nineteenth Century" (1899). He is a versatile, industrious, and entertaining writer.

IN DEFENCE OF HIS COLLEAGUES

[In the adjourned debate on the amendment proposed on the main question affecting Irish affairs in the Queen's speech, Mr. W. E. Forster charged Mr. Justin McCarthy and his colleagues with complicity in the recent outrages and crimes in Ireland. Mr. McCarthy replied in the following speech in the House of Commons, February 23, 1883:]

THE fate of the amendment now before the House gives me very little concern. Neither its fate, nor its purport, nor its wording is of much account to me, or to those with whom I have the honor to act. One thing is clear, that the amendment is directed not against the Irish members, but against her Majesty's ministers. I care not whether it is rejected or passed, and I do not propose to make my business either the arraignment or the defence of the government as regards its general policy.

I shall confine myself to two speeches delivered in the course of this debate — that of the right honorable gentleman the member for Bradford [Mr. Forster], and that of the right honorable gentleman the chief secretary for Ireland. Now the speech of the right honorable gentleman the member for Bradford was undoubtedly what writers in the newspapers sometimes call "a great effort." It was a tremendous effort. I always thought the right honorable gentleman had a good deal of theatrical talent, which he had not up to the present fully developed. Those who heard his remarkable speech will agree with me that it was mimetic as well as historic. It gave us that entertainment which is often described in the playbills of theatres and music halls as "imitations of popular performers." I wish I saw him in his place in the House at present. I am hardly mistaken in thinking that he favored the House with what he believed to be imitations of the voices and manners of some honorable members of the Irish party. I am content that he shall have all the favor which his familiar attacks upon some members of that party, and his erudition in American newspapers, can win him for a time from this House and the public.

I know, too, that his motive was not merely, although it was mainly, to discredit the Irish members. He had his mind fixed also upon discrediting and damaging the government from which he has been discarded; and I am convinced that there are members of that government—aye, members who are at this moment sitting on the Treasury Bench—whom he had in his mind with a wish to discredit my honorable friend the member for the City of Cork [Mr. Parnell]. Whatever his speech was made up from — from American newspapers, from reports of meetings in the country, from hints, and more than hints, in the passionate press of London — there

was one quality of that speech which was all the right honorable gentleman's own, and that was its envenomed malignity.

I never heard in this House a speech more entirely inspired with the purpose of deliberate defamation. I believe it was the right honorable gentleman's intention to do all the damage he could to the characters of some members of the House by a process of systematic calumny. He accused some of my honorable friends, and with them of course myself, of conniving at outrage and assassination. He talked of offering us an alternative; but he gave none. He made it clear that his charge was nothing short of deliberate connivance with outrage and assassination. Here is the sort of alternative the right honorable gentleman offered us —

"I give the honorable member an alternative, that either he connived at outrages, or, when warned by facts and statements, he determined to remain in ignorance; that he took no trouble to test the truth of whether outrages had been committed or not, but that he was willing to gain the advantage of them."

I point out that this is no alternative; that men who are informed that outrage and assassination are going on, and who determine to remain in ignorance, and are willing to gain the benefit of outrage and assassination, are distinctly conniving at those crimes.

Therefore, I tell the right honorable gentleman that when he pretended to give us an alternative he did nothing of the kind; and that as he had made up his mind to charge us by implication with conniving at murder, he ought to have stood boldly up and said so. He ought to have said so in those plain words he sometimes is able to use, and ought not to have shielded himself behind the pretence of an alternative. I should have thought that the right honorable gentleman

would be the member of this House least inclined, owing to certain memories he must have, to fling accusations of sympathy with murder recklessly at other men.

When charging us with these crimes, he must have recalled a time when a newspaper, then far more influential than it now is — the "Times"— charged him with sympathy with secret assassination. I do not charge the right honorable gentleman with having sympathy with crime; but for the reason I have stated he ought to have felt a sentiment which would have prevented him from recklessly hurling similar charges in the faces of men as honorable as himself, and who feel as little thirst for blood as he does.

On the 14th of March 1864, one who was then a member of this House, and is now high in her Majesty's colonial service — Sir John Pope Hennessy — brought forward certain statements in this House with regard to a right honorable friend of mine, for whom I have the highest respect, the member for Halifax [Mr. Stansfeld], and who was accused by certain newspapers of sympathy with assassination because he had harbored Mazzini and some of his friends.

This became the subject of debate in this House, and led to the right honorable gentleman the member for Halifax resigning his position in the government. The right honorable gentleman the member for Bradford stood up for his friend. I do not blame him for that — he believed him to be innocent. But what were the evidences given, and the assassination theory held, by the man for whom the right honorable gentleman the member for Bradford stood up in this House? Extracts were then read from Mazzini's letter, "The Theory of the Dagger." Such passages as these were read —

"Blessed be the knife of Palafox: blessed be in your hands every weapon that can destroy the enemy and set you free.

The weapon that slew Mincovich in the Arsenal initiated the insurrection in Venice. It was a weapon of irregular warfare like that which, three months before the Republic, destroyed the Minister Rossi in Rome. . . . Sacred be the stiletto that began the Sicilian Vespers."

The right honorable gentleman the member for Bradford rose and said —

"The honorable and learned gentleman has brought forward a charge against an absent man — Signor Mazzini — who, whatever his faults, was a man of high character."

Whatever his faults? What though he blessed the knife of one man and the dagger of another, and the system of "irregular warfare" which removed Count Rossi, the minister of the late Pope Pius IX, who was murdered on the steps of the capitol, he was "a man of high character!" The right honorable gentleman's leader of the present day did not agree with his estimate of Signor Mazzini. The present prime minister had written in a preface to a translation of Signor Farini's "Roman States" — "The Satellites of Mazzini make common cause with assassins." After those extracts had been read and four days had passed, during which the right honorable member for Bradford had time for reflection, the subject was again raised, and the right honorable gentleman said —

"I should not be ashamed of being the friend of Mazzini." [Irish cheers, and a cry of "The Dagger!"] "I am not ashamed of being his acquaintance."

Well, I think that that incident is not without its interest and moral. The Irish members who brought forward that question at the time did not charge the right honorable gentleman, or think of charging him, with sympathy with

assassination. The charge was that he and his companions showed a levity which disregarded what a man might do, so long as that man was a foreign patriot.

The " Times " of March 15, 1864, had a leading article on the subject, which is not without its application to the present circumstances. The right honorable gentleman was not then in the flush and heyday of youth. He was able to judge whether Mazzini and his associates and satellites were what they were represented to be. The " Times " said —

" Who, then, is this M. Mazzini, to whose innocence this gentleman [Mr. Stansfeld] and Mr. W. E. Forster pledge themselves? Let any one read the passages quoted by Mr. Hennessy last night, and say whether the friends of M. Mazzini have any right to indulge in high-flown indignation when it is alleged that he might possibly be engaged in a conspiracy against a potentate's life."

I ask whether the right honorable member for Bradford was justified in seizing at the chance of high-flown indignation because the newspaper that accused him then of sympathy with assassination accuses some of us now of the same thing. I wonder that the memory of that episode in his career has not made him more generous — yes, I will say, more honest — toward men whom, in his heart, he no more believes to be guilty of that charge than honorable men then believed him to be.

I pass from that not uninstructive incident to the right honorable gentleman's attack on Irish members, and the grounds on which that attack was made. He had something to say about myself in connection with " United Ireland," a paper published in Dublin. He said much the same thing about a year ago. He then went over the story of some articles that he said appeared in that paper. I believe they were

not articles, but headings of paragraphs; and he appealed to me, though I was not in my place at the time, to know whether I approved of all these various paragraphs and headings.

Now, the right honorable gentleman must have known — at all events he might have known — that I could not have seen that newspaper then. He knew that I had been out of England the whole of that recess, from the end of one session to the beginning of another. [An Irish member: "He did."]

He did, and he said so himself in this House, for he indulged in some more or less graceful satire at my expense, and complained that, instead of helping to keep order in Ireland, I had been enjoying myself among the monuments of ancient Greece.

But since I was so culpable as to be enjoying myself among the monuments of ancient Greece, and in countries much farther off, he might have known that it was not likely that a Dublin paper followed me in all my wanderings. He knew that at the time he was speaking — at the time he was so playfully chiding me for the amusement of the House — he must have known that that paper was prevented from coming into this country; and though I made strenuous efforts shortly after to get copies of it, and see if it contained the terrible things it was said to contain, I was unable to obtain a copy.

However, I allow that to pass. It would not much matter if the right honorable gentleman could have sustained his charge. If he had not returned to it, I should not have cared to raise it. But I am quite willing to tell him, if it affords him the slightest interest, the history of my connection with that paper. It was started to get rid of a notorious

print, which appears lately to have lived by the levying of blackmail in Dublin. It was founded by a committee of gentlemen in whom I have the greatest trust; and the editorship was given to a man whom I regard and respect, and whom I know to be incapable of conducting a journal on the principles the right honorable gentleman described.

Under these conditions I felt content, having no control over the paper, to go abroad among the monuments of ancient Greece, and to leave the paper in the hands of the able editor who has already shown his ability in this House. I did not inquire in my absence how he conducted it. I know he conducted it honorably and well; and we have learned that the only things the right honorable gentleman objects to are the paragraphs and headings which got into the paper while he had the responsible editor under lock and key in one of his prisons.

I have said enough on that point. I do not believe that any investigation would convict that editor of publishing any articles which men of honor would be ashamed to sanction.

The right honorable gentleman went over many points with the object of associating me and others with plots and assassinations. For example, he spoke of a telegram sent by Mr. Brennan, who was the correspondent of the "Irish World," to that paper. The telegram is given variously in the different journals, but I would ask the right honorable gentleman, Is this which I am about to read the right version?

"All sorts of theories are afloat concerning this explosion"—that is the Salford dynamite explosion—"but the truly loyal one is that Fenianism did it."

What is the plain and evident meaning of that? Is it not that the fashionable and loyal theory, as a matter of course,

is that the Fenians did it? I ask the right honorable gentleman, is not that the manifest meaning? [Mr. W. E. Forster.—"I would ask the honorable member to read the remainder of the telegram."] I quote the whole of the printed version I have. The right honorable gentleman charged me with deliberate avoidance of reading articles in order that I might be able to say I do not know of the incitement to assassination they contained. Then he said:

"I expect, or suspect"—probably suspect, it is more in his line—"I suspect the honorable member"—meaning myself—"has been careful not to read the articles to which I refer."

The charge is, perhaps, hardly parliamentary. There was a rude interruption last night, which we all regret, to an imputation which ought not to have been made; but the right honorable gentleman is allowed to say: "I suspect the honorable member has been careful not to read the articles to which I refer."

The whole theory and purpose of his declamation and defamation was to make members of this House responsible for every violent act done, and every violent word said, by any supposed follower of his in this country or America. I should like to know how that theory would apply to the right honorable gentleman.

The right honorable gentleman has not forgotten the riots which occurred in the Reform years, nor the men who got up those riots. He has not forgotten the riot which led to the breaking down of the Hyde Park railings, and the maiming and wounding of many of the mob and some policemen. The right honorable gentleman and his friends came back to power on that smash of the Hyde Park railings.

The right honorable gentleman was well acquainted with

the leader of the democratic movement—the late Mr. Beales. [Mr. W. E. Forster.—"I did not know him personally."] Neither do I know personally those who have uttered these violent words and done these violent acts in Ireland, for which I am sought to be made responsible. Mr. Beales is dead. Mr. Beales was a man of honor and courage. I knew him and I respected him. But he certainly got around him, and could not help getting around him, men of very odd character and very odd pretensions. Does the right honorable gentleman remember a certain Mr. Joseph Leicester, a famous glass-blower? [Mr. W. E. Forster.—"I do not remember him."]

He does not remember him? As a famous actress said on one occasion, "What a candor; but what a memory!" At the time Mr. Leicester's name used to appear in every London newspaper every morning. This distinguished supporter of the right honorable gentleman's party went to a great meeting one day—a great trades' demonstration, held, I think, in Trafalgar Square—and this was part of the speech of Joseph Leicester. There was then, as there has been more lately, a kind of rush and raid on the House of Commons to force them to pass a certain bill, and this was what this demagogue here said:

"The question is, were they to suffer those little-minded, decrepit, hump-backed, one-eyed scoundrels, who call themselves the House of Commons, to defraud them any longer of their rights?"

I was not a member of the House of Commons then and did not come in for any part of that lively personal description; but I ask the right honorable gentleman if some one as nearly connected with the honorable member for the city of Cork as Mr. Leicester was with the right honorable gentleman, had used words of that description to a meeting of Irish-

men, what would he have said? The riots in Hyde Park took place and people were wounded. ["Question!"]

There was no cry of "Question" when the right honorable gentleman was defaming me and others, and went over land and sea and over years to find charges against us. It is quite to the question. I want to say to him and the House that it is impossible in any movement to hold the leaders responsible for every idle word and act said and done by their followers. Of this movement Mr. Beales was the leader, and when the right honorable gentleman and his friends came into power did they repudiate Mr. Beales? They made him a county court judge. Did they at any time, while these proceedings were going on, repudiate the language of any man? No.

There was a newspaper in London at the time, of which the right honorable gentleman sitting near him [Mr. John Bright] knew something, in which a writer, not now living, had once called on the people, if a certain thing were not done, to destroy the House of Lords, and to strew the Thames with the wreck of their painted chamber. I ask the right honorable gentleman, who took in that paper, whether he read it or not? [Cries of "Morning Star."]

Yes, the "Morning Star." [Mr. W. E. Forster.—"I was not a shareholder."] The matter was brought to the notice of this House by an honorable member, and I am not aware that the right honorable gentleman said one single word in condemnation of that language. And remember, Mr. Speaker, that the time of the Hyde Park riots was not a time of peace. We have heard, again and again, that things may be allowed in time of peace; but that was not a time of peace. Those were dangerous times. Troops were kept in readiness—the air was full of danger. During the whole of that time the right honorable gentleman never said, as far as I know, one

word to dissociate himself or any of his friends from those acts or words.

I should like to ask the right honorable gentleman another question. Did he never hear at that time that a famous continental leader of revolution was over in London and was in negotiation with some of the men concerned in these affairs with the hope of assisting them in a democratic revolution? [Mr. W. E. Forster.—"No."]

He never heard of it? He never read any of the papers published at that time? He never read histories published since that time? Over and over again—in newspapers, magazines, and books—has the story of the foreign incendiary been told, and the right honorable gentleman never heard of it or read of it; and yet he supposes I read every copy of the "Irish World!"

I think I have sufficiently shown that the right honorable gentleman ought to be cautious how he makes charges against us of sympathy with assassination, or of having assisted or connived at crimes, and how he lays down the theory that a man is bound to know what is done by everybody else who is concerned with him in any popular movement. I will tell the right honorable gentleman and the House how outrages grew up in Ireland of late. The Land League was formed with the full and deliberate intent of drawing agitation above the surface.

That was its motive. Its purpose was to maintain public platforms on which agitation might go on openly and in the face of day, by which men would be withdrawn from that terrible system of conspiracy which has been the bane and curse of Ireland for so many years. That was the motive of the Land League. I saw that was its distinct purpose, and it was succeeding so manifestly in the purpose that I joined the

League. The right honorable gentleman expects that every one has read every letter written by every one else. I should ask him if he did me the favor of reading a letter of mine which was published in all the papers in England in reference to my joining the Land League? [Mr. W. E. Forster.—"No."]

He did not. He only reads the "Irish World," and I did not write to the "Irish World" to explain my intentions. In that letter I stated concisely and clearly my reasons for believing the Land League would do good, and why I thought it was the duty of every patriotic Irishman to join it. I believed it was doing good by helping to close the era of conspiracy. But there came upon Ireland one autumn and one winter three influences of evil together—famine, the House of Lords, and the right honorable gentleman. The country was miserably pinched with hunger. The House of Lords rejected the poor little Compensation for Disturbance bill, which might have stopped for a while the sufferings of the people; and then, to improve the situation, the right honorable gentleman got his law for the arrest of suspicious men, under which he flung the leaders of the people into prison. Then it was that outrages began to increase. After the arrest of the honorable member for the city of Cork the movement drifted leaderless and hopeless, dropped from the high point to which it had risen in publicity and on the platform, into the seething ferment of the sea of conspiracy. The leaders of the land movement had nearly succeeded in raising Ireland out of conspiracy. That is what I fully and firmly believe, and thus history hereafter will I am certain write it out.

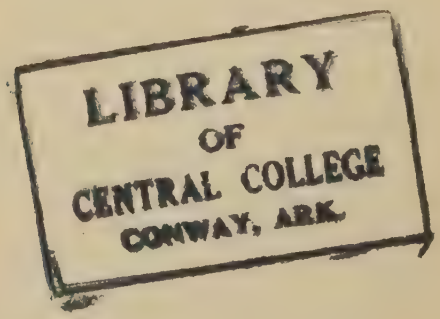
The chief secretary to the lord-lieutenant made a serious mistake when he appealed to us to-night to justify all manner of executions simply on the ground that so many murders had

been committed. It is not the theory of this country that for so many murders there shall be so many executions. That is the theory of certain eastern states; but that is happily not yet the theory even in Ireland. Were the murders ten times more in number than the men put on trial for them, I should be at liberty still, if I thought I had reason, to examine into the justice of each trial and the way in which it had been conducted; and if it could be shown that there was anything like systematic jury-packing in even one trial, no matter how many murders had been committed, I should denounce it.

The right honorable gentleman seemed a little hopeful toward the end of his speech when he spoke of the great decrease of outrages, and when there was drawn from him the statement that there was also a decrease of evictions. In searching for the causes which had led to this decrease of outrages, the fact of the decrease of evictions must not be overlooked. The right honorable gentleman then became a little more ominous in saying that he feared that lately evictions had been on the increase. Was it not possible that with the increase of evictions might come an increase of outrages? It must be remembered that there is now no such thing as the right of public meeting or free speech in Ireland. A man may make a speech if he likes at his own risk; but the right honorable gentleman tells us that if he thinks there is anything in the speech which might lead to inflame the feelings of any one, he will prevent or punish the making of such speeches, although he knows the speaker had no evil intention whatever.

There is no free platform in Ireland; no free press—no right to hold a public meeting. There is no way in which the sentiments and grievances of the people can be freely expressed. You are laboring in the dark. You are driving dis-

affection beneath the surface. You alone will be responsible for the consequences of the terrible and stringent measures you have adopted. As the honorable member for the city of Cork said, there is no longer any probability of the Irish leaders or Irish members of Parliament standing between you and the elements of conspiracy. I do not blame the right honorable gentleman the chief secretary so much for the change that has come about. The responsibility for that change I lay, as I have already said, on the shoulders of another man. I may say of him, as was said of another famous politician, that it has seldom been within the power of any human creature to do so much good as the right honorable gentleman for Bradford has prevented.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GEORGE GRAHAM VEST

GEORGE GRAHAM VEST, American Democratic senator and lawyer, was born at Frankfort, Ky., Dec. 6, 1830, and educated at Centre College in that State. He subsequently studied law in the Transylvania Law School at Lexington, Ky., and in 1856 removed to Brownsville, Mo. Four years later he entered the Missouri legislature, but surrendered his seat in 1861 to serve in the Confederate army. He was for two years a member of the Confederate Congress, and after the close of the Civil War resumed the practice of his profession at Sedalia, Mo., whence he removed in 1877 to Kansas City, Mo. In 1878, he entered the United States Senate, retaining his seat through successive reëlections until the present (1902). He is known as a vigorous debater, and besides having spoken on most of the important measures before Congress in the past twenty years, has been chairman of various congressional committees.

ON INDIAN SCHOOLS

SPEECH DELIVERED IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE, APRIL 7, 1900

MR. PRESIDENT,—I shall not take the time of the Senate in discussing this oft-debated question as to the contract schools. My opinions have been so emphatically and repeatedly expressed that it is hardly necessary for me now to give information on that subject to any one who has taken any interest in the matter.

There are people in this country, unfortunately, who believe that an Indian child had better die an utter unbeliever, an idolater even, than to be educated by the Society of Jesus or in the Catholic church. I am very glad to say that I have not the slightest sympathy with that sort of bigotry and fanaticism. I was raised a Protestant; I expect to die one; I was never in a Catholic church in my life, and I have not the slightest sympathy with many of its dogmas; but, above all, I have no respect for this insane fear that the Catholic church

is about to overturn this government. I should be ashamed to call myself an American if I indulged in any such ignorant belief.

I look upon this as a man of the world, practical, I hope, in all things, and especially in legislation, where my sphere of duty now is. Unfortunately I am not connected with any religious organization. I have no such prejudice as would prevent me from doing what I believed to be my duty. I would give this question of the education of Indian children the same sort of consideration that I would if I were building a house or having any other mechanical or expert business carried on. I had infinitely rather see these Indians Catholics than to see them blanket Indians on the plains, ready to go on the warpath against civilization and Christianity.

I said a few minutes ago that I was a Protestant. I was reared in the old Scotch Presbyterian church; my father was an elder in it, and my earliest impressions were that the Jesuits had horns and hoofs and tails, and that there was a faint tinge of sulphur in the circumambient air whenever one crossed your path. Some years ago I was assigned by the Senate to duty upon the committee on Indian affairs, and I was assigned by the committee, of which Mr. Dawes was then the very zealous chairman, to examine the Indian schools in Wyoming and Montana. I did so under great difficulties and with labor which I could not now physically perform. I visited every one of them. I crossed that great buffalo expanse of country where you can now see only the wallows and trails of those extinct animals, and I went to all these schools. I wish to say now what I have said before in the Senate, and it is not the popular side of this question by any means, that I did not see in all my journey, which lasted for several weeks, a single school that was doing any educational work worthy the name

of educational work unless it was under the control of the Jesuits. I did not see a single government school, especially these day schools, where there was any work done at all.

Something has been said here about the difference between enrollment and attendance. I found day schools with 1,500 Indian children enrolled and not ten in attendance, except on meat days, as they called it, when beeves were killed by the agent and distributed to the tribe. Then there was a full attendance. I found schools where there were old, broken-down preachers and politicians receiving $1,200 a year and a house to live in for the purpose of conducting these Indian day schools, and when I cross-examined them, as I did in every instance, I found that their actual attendance was about three to five in the hundred of the enrollment. I do not care what reports are made, for they generally come from interested parties. You cannot educate the children with the day schools.

In 1850 Father De Smet, a self-sacrificing Christian Jesuit, went, at the solicitation of the Flatheads, to their reservation in Montana. The Flatheads sent two runners, young men, to bring the black robes to educate them and teach them the religion of Christ. Both of these runners were killed by the Blackfeet and never reached St. Louis. They then sent two more. One of them was killed, and the other made his way down the Missouri River after incredible hardships and reached St. Louis. Father De Smet and two young associates went out to the Flathead reservation and established the mission of St. Mary in the Bitter Root and St. Ignatius on the Jocko reservation. The Blackfeet burned the St. Mary mission, killed two of the Jesuits and thought they had killed the other—Father Ravaille. I saw him when on this committee, lying in his cell at the St. Mary's mission, paralyzed from the

waist down, but performing surgical operations, for he was an accomplished surgeon, and doing all that he possibly could do for humanity and religion. He had been fifty-two years in that tribe of Indians. Think of it! Fifty-two years. Not owning the robe on his back, not even having a name, for he was a number in the semi-military organization called the Company of Jesus; and if he received orders at midnight to go to Africa or Asia he went without question, because it was his duty to the cause of Christ and for no other consideration or reason.

Father De Smet established these two missions and undertook to teach the Indian children as we teach our children in the common schools by day's attendance. It was a miserable failure. The Jesuits tried it for years, supported by contributions from France, not a dollar from the government, and they had to abandon the whole system. They found that when the girls and boys went back to the tepee at night all the work of the day by the Jesuits was obliterated. They found that ridicule, the great weapon of the Indian in the tepee, was used to drive these children away from the educational institutions established by the Jesuits. When the girl went back to the tepee with a dress on like an American woman and attempted to speak the English language, and whom the nuns were attempting to teach how to sew and spin, and wash and cook, she was ridiculed as having white blood in her veins, and the result was that she became the worst and most abandoned of the tribe, because it was necessary in order to reinstate herself with her own people that she should prove the most complete apostate from the teachings of the Jesuits.

After nearly twenty years of this work by the Jesuits they abandoned it, and they established a different system, separating the boys and the girls, teaching them how to work, for that

is the problem, not how to read or spell, nor the laws of arithmetic, but how to work and to get rid of this insane prejudice taught by the Indians from the beginning that nobody but a squaw should work, and that it degrades a man to do any sort of labor, or in fact to do anything except to hunt and go to war.

The hardest problem that can be proposed to the human race is how to make men self-dependent. There can be no self-respect without self-dependence. There can be no good government until a people are elevated up to the high plane of earning their bread in the sweat of their faces. When you come to educate negroes and Indians there is but one thing that will ever lift them out of the degradation in which long years of servitude and nomadic habits have placed them, and that is to teach them that the highest and greatest and most elevating thing in the human race is to learn how to work and to make themselves independent.

I take off my hat, metaphorically, whenever I think of this negro in Alabama—Booker Washington. He has solved that problem for his race, and he is the only man who has ever done it. Fred Douglass was a great politician, but he never discovered what was necessary for the negro race in this country. I have just returned from the south after a sojourn of five weeks upon the Gulf of Mexico.

The negro problem is the most terrible that ever confronted a civilized race upon the face of the earth. You cannot exterminate them; you cannot extradite them; you must make them citizens as they are and as they will continue to be. You must assimilate them. Exportation is a dream of the philanthropist, demonstrated to be such by the experiment in Liberia. Mr. Lincoln tried it, and took his contingent fund immediately after the war, shipped negroes

to a colony in the West Indies, and those who were left from the fever after two years came back to the United States, and every dollar expended was thrown away. Washington, this negro in Alabama, has struck the keynote. It will take years to carry it out, and he has the prejudices of his own race and the prejudices of the ignorant whites against him; but he deserves the commendation of all the people, not only of the United States, but those of the civilized world.

Mr. President, the Jesuits have elevated the Indian wherever they have been allowed to do so without interference of bigotry and fanaticism and the cowardice of insectivorous politicians who are afraid of the A. P. A. and the votes that can be cast against them in their district and States. They have made him a Christian, and above even that have made him a workman able to support himself and those dependent upon him. Go to the Flathead reservation, in Montana, and look from the cars of the Northern Pacific Railroad, and you will see the result of what Father De Smet and his associates began and what was carried on successfully until the A. P. A. and the cowards who are afraid of it struck down the appropriation. There are now four hundred Indian children upon that reservation without one dollar to give them an hour's instruction of any kind. That is the teaching of many professors of the religion of Christ in the Protestant churches. I repudiate it. I would be ashamed of myself if I did not do it, and if it were the last accent I ever uttered in public life it would be to denounce that narrow-minded and unworthy policy based upon religious bigotry.

This A. P. A. did me the greatest honor in my life during their last session in this city, two years ago. They passed a resolution unanimously demanding that I should be impeached because I said what I am saying now. Mr. Presi-

dent, the knowledge of the constitution of this country developed by that organization in demanding the impeachment of a United States senator for uttering his honest opinion in this chamber puts them beyond criticism. It would be cowardly and inhuman to say one word about ignorance so dense as that.

Mr. President, as I said, go through this reservation and look at the work of the Jesuits, and what is seen? You find comfortable dwellings, herds of cattle and horses, intelligent, self-respecting Indians. I have been to their houses and found that under the system adopted by the Jesuits, the new system, as I may call it, after the failure of that which was attempted for twenty years, to which I have alluded, after they had educated these boys and girls and they had intermarried, the Jesuits would go out and break up a piece of land and build them a house, and that couple became the nucleus of civilization in the neighborhood. They had been educated under the system which prevented them from going back to the tepee after a day's tuition. The Jesuits found that in order to accomplish their purpose of teaching them how to work and to depend upon themselves it was necessary to keep them in school, a boarding school, by day and night, and to allow even the parents to see them only in the presence of the brothers or the nuns.

I undertake to say now—and every senator here who has passed through that reservation will corroborate my statement—that there is not in this whole country an object lesson more striking than that to be seen from the cars of the Northern Pacific Railroad, the fact that these Jesuits alone have solved the problem of rescuing the Indians from the degradation in which they were found.

Mr. President, these Jesuits are not there, as one of them

told me, for the love of the Indian. Old Father Ravaille told me, lying upon his back in that narrow cell, with the crucifix above him, "I am here not for the love of the Indian, but for the love of Christ," without pay except the approval of his own conscience. If you send one of our people, a clergyman, a politician even, to perform this work among the Indians, he looks back to the fleshpots of Egypt. He has a family, perchance, that he cannot take with him on the salary he receives. He is divided between the habits and customs and luxuries of civilized life and the self-sacrificing duties that devolve upon him in this work of teaching the Indians.

The Jesuit has no family. He has no ambition. He has no idea except to do his duty as God has given him to see it; and I am not afraid to say this, because I speak from personal observation, and no man ever went among these Indians with more intense prejudice against the Jesuits than I had when I left the city of Washington to perform that duty. I made my report to the secretary of the interior, Senator Teller, now on this floor, and I said in that report what I say here and what I would say anywhere and be glad of the opportunity to say it.

Mr. President, every dollar you give these day schools might as well be thrown into the Potomac River under a ton of lead. You will make no more impression upon the Indian children than if you should take that money and burn it and expect its smoke by some mystic process to bring them from idolatry and degradation to Christianity and civilization. If you can have the same system of boarding schools supported by the government that the Jesuits have adopted after long years of trial and deprivation, I grant that there might be something done in the way of elevating this race.

The old Indians are gone, hopelessly gone, so far as civilization and Christianity are concerned. They look upon all work as a degradation and that a squaw should bear the burden of life. The young Indian can be saved. There are 3,000 of them to-day in the Dakotas—in South Dakota, I believe—who are voters, exercising intelligently, as far as I know, the right of suffrage. Go to the Indian Territory, where there are the Five Civilized Tribes, and you will see what can be done by intelligent effort, not with day schools, but with schools based upon the idea of taking the children and removing them from the injurious influence of the old Indians and teaching them the arts of civilization and of peace.

If I have ever done anything in my whole career in this chamber of which I am sincerely proud it is that upon one occasion I obtained an appropriation of $10,000 for an industrial school at St. Ignatius, in Montana. A few years afterward, in passing through to the Pacific coast, I stopped over to see that school. They heard I was coming and met me at the depot with a brass band, the instruments in the hands of Indian boys, and they played without discrimination Hail Columbia and Dixie. They had been taught by a young French nobleman whom I had met two years before at the mission, who had squandered the principal portion of his fortune in reckless dissipation in the salons of Paris and had suddenly left that sort of life and joined the company of Jesus and dedicated himself to the American missions. He was an accomplished musician, and he taught those boys how to play upon the instruments.

I went up to the mission and found there these Indian boys making hats and caps and boots and shoes and running a blacksmith shop and carrying on a mill and herding horses

and cattle. The girls and boys when they graduated, intermarrying, became heads of families as reputable and well-behaved and devoted to Christianity as any we can find in our own States. They were Catholics. That is a crime with some people in this country.

Mr. President, are we to be told that a secret political organization in this country shall dictate to us what we ought to do for this much-injured race whom we have despoiled of their lands and homes and whom God has put upon us as an inheritance to be cared for? I accuse no senator here of any other motive than a desire to do his public duty. I shall do mine, and I should gladly vote for an amendment to this bill infinitely stronger than that of the senator from Arkansas. I would put this work, imperative upon us, in the hands of those who could best accomplish it, as I would give the building of my house to the best mechanic, who would put up a structure that suited me and met the ends I desired. If the Catholics can do it better than anybody else, let them do it. If the Presbyterian, the Methodist, the Congregationalist, or any other denomination can do it, give the work to them; but to every man who comes to me and says this is a union of church and state, I answer him, "Your statement is false upon the very face of it." Instead of teaching the Indian children that they must be Catholics in order to be good citizens, they are simply taught that work is ennobling, and with the sense of self-dependence and not of dependence upon others will come civilization and Christianity. These are my feelings, Mr. President, and I would be glad if I could put them upon the statute books.

DAVID SWING

DAVID SWING, American Presbyterian clergyman and pulpit orator, was born at Cincinnati, O., Aug. 23, 1830, and died at Chicago, Ill., Oct. 3, 1894. Educated at Miami University, Oxford, O., he studied theology and was professor of languages at his Alma Mater for twelve years. In 1866, he became pastor of the Fourth Presbyterian Church, Chicago. He quickly achieved a wide popularity as a pulpit orator, his sermons and essays appearing weekly in the newspapers. In 1874, he was accused of heterodoxy, and after a trial of several weeks was acquitted. Not wishing to create discord in the Presbytery, however, he resigned his pastorate and became pastor of an independent congregation, called the Central Church, remaining in charge of this parish until his death at Chicago, in his sixty-fifth year. He was for a number of years editor of "The Alliance," a Chicago religious journal, and took much interest in national matters, as well as in local municipal reforms. His published writings consist of two series of "Sermons"; "Truths for To-day" (1874); "Club Essays" (1880); "Motives of Life"; "Old Pictures of Life," a collection of essays, with biographical sketch of the author (1894).

ON WASHINGTON AND LINCOLN

AS OUR Nation grows older, and adds to its moral worth as rapidly as it adds to its years, its memorial days will become more significant, and no statesman or editor or clergyman will pass unconsciously such graves as those of Washington and Lincoln. The Greeks and Latins celebrated the death-days of their great men because greatness did not reach its climax at the cradle, but nearer the tomb. Our country, in regarding the birthdays of its distinguished sons, has in heart the same feelings which the classics cherished, and uses the joy and beauty of the cradle only as an emblem of the subsequent splendor of life. Any day taken from that career which ended in 1799, the day in October when Cornwallis surrendered to Washington, would answer as well as the day in February for a trumpet

call to awaken an unequalled memory. Be the hour that of cradle or inauguration or farewell address or grave, it recalls the one great historic fact. The American habit of taking up the birthday as an emblem of the whole page or volume in history is well, for there the first smile of life is seen, and the cradle is less sad than the sepulchre.

This smallest month in the year is ornamented by the two greatest birthdays recorded upon our continent—those of Washington and Lincoln. Only ten years lay between the death of Washington and the birth of Abraham Lincoln. In that little interregnum the people ruled just as they do now when both kings have long been absent from the land they loved. But we should all see to it that the absence is only that of the material form, not that of the soul. The bookmaker, the journalist, the politician, the preacher, the poet, and the painter should carry onward the spirit of these men, and make them to be the same moral forces in the morrow they were in the yesterday. What the old saints are to Christianity these two patriots are to our country. Take from beneath our churches the Christ and the Saints Paul and John, and although each truth of a natural religion would remain, what a coldness would be felt in its walls! How hearts would freeze at the altars! So our Nation does not repose upon early abstract ideas, but also upon the warm hearts which once beat along the Potomac and in the prairies of Illinois.

Society is not moved simply by its truths, but also by its attachments, and doubly fortunate and successful is it when its attachments bind it to the best truths. Men love their country, right or wrong; but fortunate is our Nation in that its great heroic characters were in perfect harmony with the most refined light, and thus truth and sentiment are in full

partnership. There have been States which have had to apologize for the defects of their heroes—their Caesars or Napoleons or Georges—their emperors or queens or czars: but fortunate was this February in those two cradles over which attachment and philosophy join in unusual accord. Love sees nothing that needs be forgiven. Patriotism and reason meet over these birthdays, and, willing to love country, right or wrong, men may love it all the more in this unsullied memory of right.

Next to the saints of religion must be ranked in all our minds these saints of our country; because our Nation asks not for political theory only, but for a worship, a friendship that can conquer and hope like the faith of the Christian. When an enemy rises up against this Republic it must always find not a mere soulless corporation, but a passion, a sentiment which will pluck up trees by the roots and toss mountains into the sea. A mother defends her child not only because of right and principle, but also because of her affection. Thus great, pure leaders, like those of historic memory, enlarge political philosophy into devotion. It helped our nation in its dark days of 1770 and 1861, that its two leaders were so worthy of admiration. The soldiers of Valley Forge saw in their general a lofty character for whom they could endure privations, in whom they could trust. When they were cold and hungry and homesick they were still inspired by the merit of their commander. He had separated himself from his wealth and its peace to be a soldier against the greatest power upon earth; the troops saw that moral worth, and were cheered by the vision when all other scenes were darkened. When Baron Steuben, an ardent volunteer from the German army, saw the troops at Valley Forge, their want of all the comforts of life, he won-

dered what held the soldiers so firmly to their post of duty. It was a moral power that held them—the hope of a free nation and faith in their chieftain. In Philadelphia the British army, from the highest to the humblest, was spending in carousal the winter months which the colonial troops were spending in all forms of discomfort. One British officer kept a gambling house in which the common soldiers were robbed of their gold. Thus was the British army a military machine, while the American army was a band of men with a soul in it—an army of 6,000 friends of freedom and of Washington. Washington's dining-room of logs, in which banqueting hall that could be duplicated for $50, there was simple food and no carousal, became an emblem of the kind of leader the file was trusting and following.

This scene was repeated in the war of the secession. Whatever the hardships of the soldiers in that long and awful war, the troops could always think of Abraham Lincoln as being in full sympathy with them, as knowing what labor and privation were, and as being willing to die, if need be, for the welfare of the country. The fame of other men arose and fell, but Mr. Lincoln's shone with a steady beam, however dark the night. All the simplicity and honesty of his character, the hardships of his early life, added to the impressiveness of his name. His history made him the basis of songs and of a deep admiration.

It is wonderful that two such men, so similar, so grand in intellect and morals, came to our Nation in its hour of greatest need. The need did not create them; it simply found them. George Washington was just as honest and noble when he was twenty, and twenty years before the independence, as he was in the revolution. When discontent about rank and pay sprang up in the Indian War, Major

Washington, then twenty-two, said he should as soon serve as a private as serve as an officer, and for small pay as for large pay; that he would remain with his regiment on the Ohio under any possible arrangement. Thus the subsequent revolution did not make Washington; it only found him.

Thus came Abraham Lincoln into our country, not created by the war of the Rebellion, but created previously in the mysterious laboratory of nature. He was simple in life, clear in his views of right and duty, firm in his will long before the flag of war was unfurled. * * * * *

Great memory of our country, that in ten years after the death of Washington this child was opening its eyes upon a continent that was to make it a part of its second great drama!

So far is our day from the time of Washington that many details have fallen out of the picture, and there remains the form without the life. To the new generation that man, once called the "Saviour of His Country" and the "Father of His Country," has become as dead and cold as a marble statue of some ancient Greek or Roman. The calm forehead and noble face remain, but the human nature which still comes to us when the name of Lincoln is pronounced has fallen away. But this is not time's fault, it is the fault of the new generation; for God has made the mind such that it can recall past years and fill itself with living pictures. Nature offers no reward to mental indolence. It hates an idler in any field. If the passion for property has injured all love of literature, and if so far as literary taste remains it prefers a foolish novel to the greatest pages of history, certainly in such an age a few years will blot out scenes the most wonderful and events the most thrilling. The law of

nature is that to the industrious mind pursuing the best paths, the past shall be made almost as vivid as the present. Not eighteen hundred years can destroy the picture of the living Jesus, a hundred years can not turn into dead rock the fathers of the Nation.

Man is the only animal to which nature has granted the power of seeing the past. The brute lives by the day; but each educated soul carries hundreds of years in the heart. Thus life is endeared, and the youth of twenty may seem to be living in a day thirty centuries in length. But all this landscape depends for its breadth and beauty upon the mind's activity. When one comes to the Mississippi one can see only a muddy stream, or he can behold that stream with De Soto at its mouth and red men on its banks three hundred years ago; and when the same heart comes to the Potomac it may see only the fishing-boys and the negroes lying idly in the sun, or it may see Washington there in those days whose suns went down a hundred years before the sun of this sacred morning came. Man's present is only an hour or two, but when his mind is awakened the past and the future are melted into the present, and make each passing hour great in its associations and hopes.

Not all minds may indeed possess the same power of recalling the past, but the common mental attributes are quite uniformly distributed, and few are the young persons of to-day who could not, if so they wished, recall the bygone times until they could hear the leaves rustle, in the autumn, under the foot of George Washington, could hear the axe of young Lincoln sounding afar in the lonely woods, could even see Jesus of Nazareth in his cottage in the Galilean hills or in the streets of Jerusalem. God made the soul too great to lie poised upon the present moment. It should

rest upon the past and the future. But if the mind possesses no activity, or if its activity is exhausted upon transient and worthless literature the past falls out of life, and all the grand ones from the Divine Christ to the human Washington and Lincoln are only names without any meaning. Often are they made the subjects of ridicule or wit by hearts that have never measured the greatness of the lives for which the names stand. The philosophy of that revival of interest in the birthdays of our two greatest men is the hope that the new generation may grasp the past of the Nation and may pass from ignorance to knowledge and from silly ridicule to deep admiration.

One of the best lessons to be read from these two names is the warmth of their hearts. There was no indifference in these characters. Great as their minds were, they were also powerful in their affection. Washington suffers now from the peculiar dignity of the old literary style. That style, perfected by Addison and Johnson, made a letter from friend to friend as pompous as a President's message or a King's address to a Parliament. Hamilton, George Washington and Martha, each man and woman, used the style of Edmund Burke; and a love letter read like an oration. But translating Washington's letters into the simple English of to-day, he is seen at once to have been a man of deep love, with his country one of the chief objects of his passion. The kindness and pathos of Mr. Lincoln are better seen because they are expressed in the dialect of our time, while the same qualities in Washington are toned down by the stateliness of the Miltonian English. When Washington had bidden good-by to LaFayette he followed the noble French patriot with a letter which shows the tenderness of the American's heart:

"In the moment of our separation, upon the road as we traveled and every hour since, I have felt all that love, respect and attachment for you with which length of years, close connection, and your merits have inspired me. I often asked myself, as our carriages separated, whether that was the last sight I should ever have of you. My fears answered yes. I called to mind the days of my youth that they had long fled to return no more; that I was now descending the hill I had been fifty-two years in climbing, and that though I was blessed with a good constitution I was of a short-lived family, and might soon expect to be entombed in the mansion of my fathers. These thoughts darkened the shades and gave a gloom to the picture, and consequently to my prospects of seeing you again."

Strip the letter of its stateliness and it recalls a tearful carriage ride from Mt. Vernon to Annapolis. Washington and LaFayette journeying toward the harbor whence the great friend of freedom was to sail for France, riding along mile after mile in the Indian-summer of Maryland, make a picture which is easily filled with all the friendship and nobleness and pathos of the once real life. It does not ask for much imagination to make that good-by ride so near and real as to make the rattle of the carriages audible and the slow procession visible on a long hillside, and thus visible are the travelers.

It is of fresh memory that Mr. Lincoln was a man of unusual warmth of heart—a twofold reminder in these two names that our age asks for men not of vast wealth and of endless political acuteness, but men who can love the country and be once more as a father full of affection for all the household. Men without affection for their nation make citizens like Benedict Arnold, Aaron Burr, or the

advocates of anarchy or political frauds. The country needs only those children who are capable of studying the great pages of history, and of forming tender attachments to all that is good in our National career. It is the evil of our day that the human heart has passed out of power, and that machine natures have attempted to fill up the tremendous vacancy. The treasury at Washington is full, but the Nation's heart is empty. The rights of the negro are not secured to him; the tremendous frauds of corporations are permitted to go on with a growing robbery of the people, and all because the love of the whole country is inactive, and men of great brain have displaced the men of large soul. This disease of the political heart is so infectious that we are all touched with its blight, and look upon our country as only a soulless corporation.

But our government is not a corporation. It is a vast family of dependent ones where hearts and hands should be joined for mutual welfare. Washington and Lincoln being absent, the Congress and the President stand in loco parentis, and should carry onward all that old sympathy with the people which made all the old glory of our fathers. A colonial officer once wrote Washington, suggesting that, in case independence was secured, they establish an American king; that the people could never rule. Washington quickly wrote to the young aristocrat never to speak or even think of such a result again—that the coming government must be that of the people. Thus was he the people's friend, and now that these States are occupied by fifty millions of people, the need of a friend has not undergone any decline. These millions are not rich, not powerful, they need a government which can secure to them "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." * * * * * * *

Washington and Lincoln should stand as proofs forever that our Nation is a great beating heart, capable of many sorrows and a many-colored happiness, a great heart like that of a Jesus, which must embrace millions in its measureless affection, and love all equally. All the struggles and disappointments and labors of Washington, all the similar pains and tears of Lincoln tell us that when we come to the words "our country" we have come to a living soul, that ought to be as omnipotent as the hand of God, as loving and pure as the heart of Jesus the Son of God and of all humanity.

Washington came up from Virginia, Lincoln down from Illinois; both came in one spotless honor, in one self-denial, in one patience and labor, in one love of man; both came in the name of one simple Christianity; both breathing daily prayers to God; thus came as though to picture a time when Virginia and Illinois, all the South and all the North would be alike one in works, in love, in religion, and in the details of National fame. If any of you young hearts have begun to forget your Nation and its heroes, you would better sit down by her rivers and remember your lost Zion, and weep as the old vision unveils itself, and then pray God to let your right hand forget its cunning rather than permit your soul to empty itself of your country.

COUNT CAPRIVI

GEORG LEO VON CAPRIVI DE CAPRERA, a distinguished German statesman and soldier, and Chancellor of the Empire (1890–94), was born at Charlottenburg, Feb. 24, 1831, and died at Krossen, Prussia, Feb. 6, 1899. Entering the army in 1849 he gained rapid promotion, and served with honor in the campaigns of 1864 and 1866, and in the Franco-Prussian War was chief of staff of the Tenth Corps. In 1883, he was advanced to the rank of lieutenant-general, and in the following year was transferred to the control of the admiralty, on the retirement of Von Stosch. Caprivi exhibited creditable vigor in his new post, as well as a thorough comprehension of naval methods, and not long after the accession of William II had completely reorganized the navy. In recognition of his eminent services, he was transferred back to the army and given command of the Tenth or Hanoverian Army Corps. On March 19, 1890, he succeeded Bismarck as chancellor and president of the Prussian Council, and in 1891 received from the Emperor the title of Count. In March, 1892, he resigned his position as Prussian prime minister, but retained his chancellorship till his resignation of that office also, Oct. 26, 1894. In politics, Count Caprivi was a safe, steady councillor, combining patience and sagacity with firmness and a dash of good humor.

ON COLONIAL POSSESSIONS

[First speech as chancellor in the Reichstag, delivered on May 12, 1890, in answer to Dr. von Bamberger's speech on the relinquishment of all colonial possessions.]

GENTLEMEN,—The gentleman who has just spoken has turned his attention from the question before the House to the important subject of our colonial policy. I wish to state with pleasure that he has expressed his approval of the fact that the government has carried out the intentions of the Reichstag. Such is indeed the fact, and I need not enumerate the long series of resolutions through which this House has acknowledged its willingness to support the measures of the federal government. I am convinced, therefore, like my predecessor,[1] that a colonial

[1] Bismarck.

policy is desirable only in as far as it is approved and supported by the will and—with due respect to Mr. Bamberger—by the feeling of the nation.

The honorable gentleman has intimated that possibly through my entrance into office a change of policy might be effected. That I most emphatically deny. I believe it is very generally known among those who have had the opportunity of an earlier acquaintance with me that I have not been an advocate of the colonial policy. For various reasons I looked upon the introduction of a colonial policy at that time as extremely dangerous. Now however I am convinced, that in view of the situation to-day, we cannot withdraw without stain upon our honor and financial loss; we cannot even stand still; nay, we must push forward.

Mr. Bamberger has declared that if the government would make known its purpose, and if the demands were not exorbitant, both he and his party might give their support. I infer, therefore, with a feeling of satisfaction that even among his associates there will not be found a Hannibal Fischer[1] for the German colonies.

If, however, he expects me to set forth a definite program, or to state on the spot: We shall take so many millions and spend them; and then to say we have reached a position where it is possible to dispense with the support of the empire and leave the colonies to themselves,—if, I repeat, he expects this—he is doomed to disappointment. In matters subjected to so many casualities and sealed, as it were, against penetrating into their inner nature as the beginning of colonies in foreign lands,—territory not only unknown to our-

[1] Hannibal Fischer sold by order of the Federal Diet in 1852 the German fleet lying in Bremerhaven, and thereby aroused the indignation of the German people.

selves but to all other nations as well,—it is simply impossible to predict that twelve months hence such events will happen or we shall need so much money. I can only emphasize—and the fact perhaps will give me more weight with Mr. Bamberger's partisans—that I am not a colonial enthusiast, that even to-day I look upon the matter with perfectly cool judgment, and that with my advice matters will only go as far as the honor and the interests of Germany demand.

The honorable gentleman looks upon the colonial policy as a money question and says: a colonial policy is an economic policy, and in a certain sense he is right, although he draws the line a little too closely. Therefore he has described the economic policy hitherto pursued by the federal government toward the colonies in a light not altogether favorable; he has named sums much too large in my estimation for expenses incurred so far. I have a natural aversion to enter into details with a shrewd financier, but I can state as a fact that he has counted into the expenses quoted by him: subsidies for steamships, appropriations for the maintenance of war-vessels, for salaries of officials, expenses pertaining in a certain measure to other purposes also, and which would have been necessary, even if we had decided upon no colonial policy. According to documents before me the sum hitherto expended by the empire for colonial purposes amounts to not quite 5,500,000 marks, and the money invested by companies —as far as I am able to ascertain—to somewhat less than 15,000,000 marks.

I admit that with the appearance of the colonial policy a great many misconceptions crept in. There was a belief for instance that we had but to stretch out our hands to find in one colony a nugget of gold, in another manufactured cigars, errors easily refuted by those who had seriously

studied the question. The territory left for German colonies was decidedly not of that kind; on the contrary it became clearer day by day that profits could be realized only with great labor and after a considerable lapse of time.

Mr. Bamberger presents to us the example of the English. "Their companies," he says, "colonize without the assistance of the government." We would gladly follow their example, and we admit it to be our aim some day to reach a point where our government will cease to make appropriations and the companies will take upon themselves all responsibility and expense and thereby guarantee a profit to those engaged in the enterprise. But we are absolutely unable to carry out this English system immediately. In the short time that I have been in office I have learned how difficult it is to find a competent man for a comparatively subordinate position in the colonies, to say nothing of a man qualified both by natural ability and experience to fill a high position. But there is another point in which we differ from England. History tells us that English private capital has a tendency to turn to such enterprises; German capital, on the other hand, prefers investment in the doubtful securities of doubtful foreign states.

The reasons for this are well known, and the honorable and experienced gentleman undoubtedly knows them much better than I do.

The federal government cannot—as proved by the measure submitted to us here—state on the first of April of the present year how much they will have spent next year. This is where we would have the nation and the Reichstag believe that we will go no further than is absolutely necessary. We wish to be so far trusted as not to be open to suspicion in case we should spend 4,000,000 instead of 2,500,000; such in-

creased expenditure is sometimes unavoidable. The colonial policy cannot be awarded to the lowest bidder; it must be given to those who are willing to undertake the matter.

In the debate to-day we are principally thinking of East Africa, and this is only natural. But if we wish to draw conclusions for the future from the past, as far as the financial side is concerned, East Africa offers a singularly unfavorable field: first, it is an unbounded territory; secondly, existing conditions are heterogeneous; and thirdly, the insurrection there has interrupted the natural development. Yet, leaving out the expenses of the navy and the officials, I can state that the Protectorates of Togo and Kamerun are self-supporting. We do not therefore—thanks to an able administration—show a deficit everywhere. This happy state of affairs will probably not be brought about so rapidly in East Africa; it will take years, but I have faith and hope that we shall achieve it some day; and in colonial affairs some faith and trust are necessary.

Let us consider the origin of the colonial policy and ask ourselves: What induced the imperial government to enter into what the gentleman is pleased to term "an ill-considered policy"? It is obvious that besides the expectation of financial gain other motives must have co-operated, else so many prudent and sensible men as the members of this House would hardly have embarked on this ship.

The honorable member has touched upon the humane and religious question of anti-slavery! Whatever importance may be attached to it here, I will leave undecided, but I believe it must be admitted even by those who are not inclined to favor this movement that flourishing industry and trade, nay, even well-conducted farming, is impossible without giving the natives some moral and intellectual education.

If we wish to bring them to this condition, we have, in my judgment, the obligation—even for the sake of our own pecuniary interests—to support the missions and to promote the civilization of these people.

It is a well-known fact that the Centre[1] gave its consent to the colonial policy influenced by religious motives and the anti-slavery movement. But as far as I have been able to follow the stenographic reports, the Centre did not object, if incidentally German national interests might be advanced thereby.

Others emphasize the national economic interests, yet accept with gratitude any advance toward christianization and German civilization made through this initiative. Each one must decide for himself how important he considers these matters, but through the Congo acts we are under international obligations to do something toward the advancement of civilization, and shall be still more strongly bound through the conference of Brussels now in session.

It is my opinion that only through the establishment of an organization, approaching to what in Europe we term a state, shall we be enabled effectually to resist slavery. But this is still in the dim future. First of all we must establish stations in the interior from which the missionary, as well as the merchant, may extend the field of their activities; to attain the result desired by the Centre, gun and Bible must work side by side, for without killing the slave-traders we can never put an end to slavery.

But there is one reason which the honorable member considers unimportant, and therefore puts aside—the national feeling! I am convinced, and I know whereof I am speaking, that one of the factors which led us to launch into the

[1] Catholic party.

colonial policy was the endeavor to maintain a tide of national feeling. After the war of 1870 there came a period of inertia in which the national spirit seemed to be paralyzed. It had no particular object to turn to; idealism, so necessary to the German mind, had lost its faculty of manifesting itself in the intellectual sphere. The war had provided it with practical aims, yet there remained an overflow of energy seeking an outlet. Then came the colonial policy, and the feeling for national honor and greatness with all its intensity—in many instances blindness—threw itself into this field.

You know, gentlemen, that the German nature, leaning as it does, strongly toward particularism, needs idealism if it is to be usefully employed. To concentrate itself this idealism needs a focal point; such a focus was found in the colonial policy, and was, as far as I know, gratefully received by the nation. Mr. Bamberger calls this a " romantic " feeling and considers it of little importance. I should like to ask him if he thinks the German Reichstag would be sitting here to-day but for this " romantic " feeling of the people?

I think not. I attach great importance to this national instinct, the " unconscious " in the soul of the people; moreover, should I find evidences of the smoldering of such a fire I should deem it my duty to search for it, foster it, and lead it into useful channels.

I concur however with Mr. Bamberger in his belief that this enthusiasm alone is of little value, since it is difficult to convert it into hard cash, German colonial enthusiasm in particular, which proverbially tightens the purse strings. Nevertheless I am of the opinion that after the pacification of the natives and the establishment of a well-regulated government, East Africa will offer special inducements for the investment of private capital. I sincerely hope that whatever

is left of colonial enthusiasm may overcome this obstacle and manifest itself in the form of ringing coin.

With many people the national question was synonymous with power, and I must confess this question of power in the colonial policy was treated by the majority with a surprising display of ignorance. It was believed we had only to buy colonies, paint the map of Africa the German color and proclaim to all the world: We are a great people!

But not so; in its inception, a colonial policy, as far as power is concerned, operates negatively; its success can be secured only by great sacrifices both of men and money. If it is a policy of faith and hope from the financial and ethical point of view, it is equally so with regard to power, and perhaps in this direction the necessity of faith is even more urgent. I can assure the honorable member that as far as I am concerned not a man shall be sacrificed or a mark spent more than is absolutely necessary to maintain and develop what is ours. I should never consent to send large sums of money or numbers of men to East Africa merely to gratify a desire to display power.

Mr. Bamberger has also touched upon the question of war, saying that in such a calamity colonies are dangerous possessions. I am willing to admit that they are doubtful ones, yet as an old soldier I know that the decision at the principal seat of war is always decisive of the fate of the dependencies. If war should break out in Europe—which heaven forbid—and we be victorious here, it would be immaterial whether some colony or other should find itself in an evil plight, the peace stipulations would fully reinstate us.

Looking into the future, I do not deem it impossible that the progress and development of the world at large will force Germany to enter into closer—and let us hope peaceful rela-

tions—with trans-oceanic states. The Phæacian existence of a small European state must cease, we shall have to deal with powers across the ocean, which are masters of enormous treasures in people and money, unknown to us; and if we realize that the time will come when German spirit and German power must manifest themselves more vigorously than heretofore, we must reach the conclusion that a navy is necessary. It was my aim during the years that I had the honor of being chief of the admiralty to labor for the development of the navy, that we might the better maintain our prestige in the event of our enlarging the sphere of our activities.

If we admit the possibility of our being placed in such a position as to need the display of a naval force in peace and war in foreign waters, we must necessarily ask ourselves: Where shall it take its supplies, the substance without which it is able neither to move nor to fight? Should we now become engaged in a war with a foreign power, we have some few but inadequate means of providing our vessels with coal. On the whole we should have to depend upon the friendliness of neutral powers; yet those who believe in the great future of the navy cannot tolerate such conditions for any length of time. We must therefore gain possession of a few places where German coal may be supplied to German ships by German authorities. The existence of coaling-stations is therefore the prime condition for naval activity in the future wars; and if we are called upon at this moment to vote some insignificant sums for our colonies, I am sanguine that this capital is a good investment and that we shall reap a manifold return.

To sum up then: We shall endeavor to advance step by step (if the Reichstag will support us); we shall not launch out into any risky enterprise; we shall strive to bring the companies to where they originally stood—that is, make them

as independent as possible, although I am not able to state today to what extent these companies will feel inclined to work independently. At this time we have in East Africa, created by the Wissmann laws, a body of soldiers belonging to no one knows whom. I do not deem it improbable that in after years, when the dictatorship and state of war shall have ceased, these troops, recruited by Wissmann in the old lansquenet[1] style, may be changed into imperial troops, thus achieving more than now, when we recruit by contract.

It shall be our endeavor to respect foreign rights everywhere, as amplified by the secretary of state, and to protect the German empire. I firmly believe the federal government able to conduct the colonial policy in such a way as not to endanger the German universal policy and not to offend the legitimate development of German national feeling.

[Translated by Helena Nordhoff Gargan.]

[1] From the German "Landsknecht,"—soldier of fortune.

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